

THE LANGUAGE OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS, 323-146
BC (EXCLUDING OSTRAKA & VASES)

Alan Sorley Henry

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1964

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THE LANGUAGE OF ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS.

323 - 146 BC.

(excluding ostraka and vases).

being a Thesis presented by

ALAN SORLEY HENRY M.A.

to the University of St. Andrews

in application for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.



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DECLARATION.

I hereby declare that the following Thesis is based on the results of research carried out by me, that the Thesis is my own composition, and that it has not previously been presented for a Higher Degree. The research was carried out on a part-time basis between October 1959 and December 1962 in the University of St. Andrews, and the Thesis was completed in the University of New England, Armidale, N.S.W.Australia.

(A.S. Henry)

CERTIFICATE.

I Certify that Alan S. Henry has spent 8 terms at Research work in the University of St. Andrews, that he has fulfilled the conditions of Ordinances 16 and 61 (St. Andrews) and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying Thesis in application for the Degree of Ph.D.

(K.J. Dover M.A.)

Professor of Greek.

CAREER.

I matriculated in the University of St. Andrews in 1953 and followed a course leading to graduation in Arts (Latin and Greek) in 1957.

In the academic year 1957-58 I studied for the Diploma of Education at Queen's College, Dundee and for the Teachers Certificate (Chap.V) at Dundee Training College. In August 1958 I was appointed Assistant Teacher of Classics in Rutherglen Academy, Glasgow.

In October 1959 I was appointed Assistant in Greek in the University of St. Andrews, from which time I became a part-time research worker on the subject which is now being submitted as a Ph.D. Thesis.

In January 1963 I was appointed Lecturer in Classics in the University of New England, Armidale, N.S.W. Australia, where this Thesis was completed.

I wish to express my thanks to my colleagues in the Depts. of Greek and Latin in the University of St. Andrews who have assisted me during my research, and in particular to my supervisor, Prof. K.J. Dover, without whose constant encouragement and advice this Thesis would never have been begun or completed.

Among my present colleagues in the University of New England I owe an especial debt of gratitude to Mr. A.S. McDevitt, a friend who shares a common interest in epigraphy and philology.

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SUMMARY OF ABBREVIATIONS.

1. Sources (see Introduction : section 4)

IG = Inscriptiones Graecae.

S(EG) = Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

H(S) = Hesperia (Supplement) : Journal of American School of
Classical Studies at Athens.

G(VI) = V. PEEK : Griechische Vers-Inschriften.

2. Type of Inscription (see Introduction : section 5)

S = State.

U = Sub-Unit.

P = Private.

V = Verse.

3. Dating (see Introduction : section 6)

a) abbreviations appearing before date:

a. = ante.

b. = between.

c. = circa.

f. = finis.

in. = initium.

m. = medium.

p. = post.

pa. = paullo ante.

pp. = paullo post.

s. = saeculum.

b) abbreviations appearing after date:

anag. = with reference to an ἀναγραφεύς.

gr. = " " " a γραμματεὺς.

f. = on grounds of form.

h. = on historical grounds.

s. = on grounds of script.

≡ = dated by editors.

c) abbreviations used in tables:

DC = Dating Category.

T = Total.

4. Other Abbreviations.

OR. = Orthography section.

PH. = Phonology "

MO. = Morphology "

WF. = Word Formation "

SY. = Syntax "

VO. = Vocabulary "

ex(x). = example (s).

inscr(r). = inscription (s).

LSJ = Liddell & Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, 9th.ed.(1940).

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INTRODUCTION.

1. PLAN of THESIS.

This Thesis is divided into 6 main sections:-

1. ORTHOGRAPHY (OR.)
2. PHONOLOGY (PH.)
3. MORPHOLOGY (MO.)
4. WORD FORMATION (WF.)
5. SYNTAX (SY.)
6. VOCABULARY (VO.)

These sections are referred to by the first two letters of each - see brackets above - and thereafter each section subdivides with the following sequence of symbols: I.A.1.a.(i) etc. Thus, a reference to the phonological change $\iota > \epsilon$ would be given as PH.I.A.1.d.(i).

2. SCOPE.

This is an examination of the linguistic phenomena of the Attic version of the $\kappa\omicron\iota\nu\eta$, taking into consideration, where appropriate, the trends of the period before 323 BC. and those of the period from 146 BC. to the end of the 1st. century BC. This additional evidence was culled from a cursory reading through the relevant inscriptions, the object being to enable one to see the developments in my period in their proper perspective, language being a living thing and never static.

The main bulk of the inscriptions I have examined can be dated with varying degrees of certainty within the period 323-146 BC. At the lower end of the period I have also included those dated "s.ii.", because, although many of them belong after 146 BC., the interest, especially

phonologically, of the 2nd. century BC. is so great that to ignore them all would be to risk overlooking many important developments. On the other hand I have excluded the evidence of inscriptions dated "post m.s.iv" and "s.iv.", hoping thus to begin my study as close to 323 BC. as possible.

3. CHOICE OF PERIOD.

The choice of 323 - 146 BC. as the period for this linguistic research was originally taken fairly arbitrarily. The death of Alexander the Great provided a reasonable upper limit, but 146 BC., apart from heralding the annexation of Greece as a Roman province, did not - as far as my knowledge went at the time I began this work - have any particular linguistic virtue as a lower limit. However, now that this study is complete, it can be shown that both these dates have some claim to be dividing lines between or thresholds to linguistic changes. This is especially true of the period around the middle of the 2nd. century BC., since after this date there appear on the one hand phonological phenomena which occur only sporadically, if at all, before 146 BC., and on the other hand, some of the trends of the period I cover are suddenly reversed to give what the Greeks of that time no doubt considered the true "Attic" forms. To a lesser extent one can detect changes which appear around the last quarter of the 4th. century BC.

The following Table summarizes this evidence: the abbreviations used are:-

P = Private inscrr.

L = Late in period.

F = a few exx.

FC = fairly common.

VC = very common.

REFERENCE	PHENOMENA	BEFORE 323 BC	323 - 146BC	AFTER 146BC
PH.I.A.1.d.1.	ι > ει	-	8 (mostly P)	VC
g.ii.	ω > ωλ	-	1 (L)	FC
2.b.i.	ει > η	-	7 (L, mostly P)	VC
b.iii.	ει > ι	1	9	VC
h.i.	ā > ᾱ	F	1 (L)	VC
C.1.a-f.	ηι > ει	F	VC	F
3.	ηι > ει	VC	VC	-
4.	ει > ηι	F	1	1
D.3.a.iv.) b.iii)	ποιε- > ποε-	VC	VC	-
E.4.a.	crasis of καί + vowel	-	2	-
II.F.1.b.i-iii.	-ν > -γ before gutturals	FC	F	-
MO.I.A.1.b.i.	-ου > -ουζ	F	2 (P)	-
3.a.i.	-κλέα/-κλήν	-κλέα	(-κλήν (34))	-κλήν
b.i.	-έαζ/-εῖζ	-έαζ	(-κλέα (3)) -εῖζ	-εῖζ
D.1.	ἐαυτ- > αὐτ-	VC	VC	ἐαυτ-
II.A.2.	-ων > -ωσαν	1	VC	VC
3.	-υια > -εια	-	5 (L)	VC
B.1.	έ- > ῆ-	έ-	ῆ-	ῆ-
SY.VI.B.3	(ὅπως ἄν (ὅπως (ἔνα	VC F 1	VC 12 14	F FC VC
VO.I.B.	(οὐδεῖς etc. (οὐθεῖς etc.	VC FC (p.378/7)	2 29	VC (p.f.s.ii.) VC (a.f.s.ii.)
C.	(γίγνομαι (γίνομαι	γίγνομαι	6 24	γίγνομαι
D.	ἐυν/συν after 403/2.	συν- (ἐυν- only in formula)	συν- (ἐυν- only in formula)	συν-

4. SOURCES.

All the evidence comes from the following sources:-

- 1) Inscriptiones Graecae II² (in 4 parts, 1913-1940). When quoting I omit "IGII²" : eg. 727.11. = IG.II² no. 727. line 11.
- 2) Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum, Vols. XII-XVIII. Denoted by "S" before the inscr. no. eg. S.XVI.58.2. = SEG Vol. XVI. No. 58 line 2.
- 3) Hesperia Vols. I-XXX (including supplements). Denoted by "H" before the inscr. no. eg. H.S.I.89.40.16. = Hesperia Supp. I. page 89. no. 40. line 16.

Any inscr. in IG or Hesperia which is wholly reproduced in SEG takes the SEG No. Similarly any inscr. in IG which is wholly reproduced in Hesp. (but not in SEG) takes the Hesp. no.

- 4) Peek: Griechische Vers-Inschriften, Band 1.

All IG verse-inscr. which are wholly reproduced in GVI take the GVI no.

Verse inscr. are denoted in 2 ways: a) if the inscr. has an IG no., the letter "V" is added immediately after the line no.
b) if the inscr. has a GVI no., the "G" which is prefixed to the no. of the inscr. (without the addition of "V".) conveys the information that it is a verse inscr.

Curiously enough, there are only 22 inscr. in GVI which belong to my period. Apart from these there are 9 verse inscr. in IG which are not included in GVI. This gives the surprisingly small total of 31, the evidence of which is obviously very insignificant when compared with the bulk of the material which is in prose. I have therefore written throughout from the standpoint of prose

inscrr., the evidence of verse inscrr. being appended where necessary. Where figures and examples are quoted without qualification, one should always assume that these refer to prose documents.

5. DIVISION of MATERIAL.

The inscrr. are classified in 3 groups:

- 1) State Documents: i.e. all inscrr. set up at the instigation of the βουλή and the δῆμος. There is no sign added to the numbering to denote this group. Thus: 727.11. itself implies that it is a state document.

N.B. "S" is used to denote State inscrr., but only in the tables and elsewhere where a sign is necessary.

- 2) Sub.Unit Documents: i.e. inscrr. set up by
 - i) state sub.units viz. Tribes, Demes, Phratries.
 - ii) clubs and priestly brotherhoods eg. θιασῶται, ὀργεῶνες.
 - iii) individuals or groups of individuals in consequence of having held some office.

These are all denoted by "U", written between the line no. and the date e.g. 1329.2.U.(175/4).

N.B. The date always comes last and is enclosed in brackets.

- 3) Private Documents: i.e. all inscrr. set up by individuals in a private capacity. Denoted by "P", written between the line no. and the date e.g. 6382.1.P.(s.iii/ii.π).

N.B. When quoting from short sepulchral inscrr., I normally omit the line no.

6. DATING SYSTEM.

I have divided the inscr. into 3 main categories for the purpose of dating:-

1) Archon Dates.

Evidence from such inscr. is to be regarded as completely reliable statistically. These dates are ultimately based on the most recent archon list put forward by B.D. Meritt⁽¹⁾. It can now be claimed that the margin of error in dating those of the Hellenistic archons whose dates are still not absolutely definite, is only a year or two, which does not have any significant effect on a linguistic analysis.

2) Almost-certain Dates:

One can place a high degree of faith in these, and evidence from such inscr. is added to that of Category 1 inscr. to give a combined figure - denoted by "T" = T(otal) - which has a very high claim to reliability.

This category comprises the following types, but a composite figure appears on the tables:

- a) Inscr. dated from the occurrence of the name of the γραμματεὺς who is connected with a known archon in another inscr., while at the same time the evidence of the type of document, script etc. point to the same date. Such dates are written thus:- 311/10.gr.
- b) Inscr. in which a known archon - usually of the year prior to the inscr. in question - is mentioned, but which do not give the name of the current archon:- written thus: c.306/5 and pp.306/5.
- c) Inscr. dated with reference to a known historical event - and therefore inscribed at or near that date. Thus:- 224/3.h. or c.224/3.h. or pp.224/3.h. (cf. Category 3.a.i.)

(1) The Athenian Year, pp.231-238.

d) Inscrr. dated from the mention of a known ἀναγραφεύς . . . There are very few in this category. Thus:- 294/3.anag.

3) Doubtful Dates:

This category embraces all that remains, and is subdivided on the tables into (a), (b) and (c) as follows:

a) (i) Inscrr. dated on historical grounds, either "between x and y", and entered on the tables under the earliest heading, or "ante/post x", and entered on the tables under the heading under which the date x falls. (cf. Category 2.c. above.).

(ii) Inscrr. dated on grounds of form, either "between x and y", or "ante/post x", because they contain formulae particularly prevalent in that period. Written thus:-a.302/1.f., and entered on the tables as in (i) above.

(iii) Inscrr. dated by their editors and accepted by me because I can offer nothing better. Written thus:-311/10.*.

b) Inscrr. given vague dates by their editors, in such a way that these dates fit conveniently under section headings. These are

f.s.iv.*	put under heading	323-300 BC.
in.s.iii.*	" " "	299-275 "
f.s.iii.*	" " "	224-200 "
in.s.ii.*	" " "	199-175 "

N.B. I have not made any distinction between these dates and the even vaguer forms such as "c.f.s.iv." or "f.s.iii.?"

c) (i) Inscrr. given vague dates by their editors, in such a way that these dates do not fit conveniently but must be put under the earliest appropriate heading: e.g. "m.s.iii.*" (i.e., I suppose, between 275 and 225 BC.) comes under the heading 274-250 BC. Note,

however, that "s.iii.*" and "s.ii.*" are put in the last section of their respective centuries i.e. 224-200 BC. and 174-146 BC.

These dates are indicated on the tables by means of Arabic numerals placed slightly above and to the right of the number which signifies the no. of exx. : thus $3^5 = 3$ exx. in the period represented by 5.

This system uses the odd numerals as follows:-

(s.iv/iii.*	represented by	1	under heading	323-300 BC.	
(f.s.iv/in.s.iii.*					
m.s.iii.*	"	"	3	"	274-250 "
s.iii.*	"	"	5	"	224-200 "
(s.iii/ii.*	"	"	7	"	224-200 "
(f.s.iii/in.s.ii.*					
m.s.ii.*	"	"	9	"	174-146 "
s.ii.*	"	"	11	"	174-146 "

N.B. As in b) above, I make no distinction between, for example, "s.iii.*" and "s.iii.?.*", or between "m.s.iii.*" and "c.m.s.iii.*".

As for post/ante, I add "p./a." after the odd numeral e.g. $6^{3p} = 6$ exx. of date (p.m.s.iii.*).

(ii) Inscrr. dated on grounds of script by me:

In many instances it is impossible to date an inscr. except by having recourse to an examination of the letter-forms. I must emphasize that dates arrived at by this method have a high degree of dubiety and linguistic information extracted from inscrr. dated in this way is valuable only in so far as it may help to confirm conclusions drawn from more securely dated sources. Nevertheless, it would be wrong to ignore such inscrr., and I have endeavoured to establish certain criteria for script-dating in the following way.

The basis for my judgements is the more legible photographs of

Category 1 inscr. in Hesperia. Together with this I examined the information on the letter-forms given in IG.II² in the headings to various Category 1 inscr., plus the data set down by W.Larfeld⁽¹⁾. Larfeld's references are to IG.II, and I have found that in several cases he quotes letter-forms which IG.II does not confirm, and also that IG.II often quotes forms which IG.II² does not repeat.

This mass of contradiction was not a firm foundation on which to build. But I was very fortunate in obtaining the help of Dr. David M. Lewis who, while in Athens in the spring of 1962, very kindly looked at some of the original stones which contained the disputed forms. Accepting his readings, I was able to decide with greater confidence whether any given form did or did not appear where the Corpus or Larfeld indicated.

I was further assisted by Prof. K. J. Dover who examined a stone in the British Museum - IG.II² 2498.(II.1059) - to find out if the form Π (pi) occurred there as indicated by IG.II². I will discuss this particular stone in some detail to make explicit the 2 points which are implicit in my above remarks viz. 1) the reported letter-forms are open to considerable doubt

2) dating by script is in any case a very dubious process, since almost any form of a given letter can occur either deliberately or accidentally at almost any period.

One is dealing in norms and averages, not water-tight compartments.

The stone in question is a Piracensium Locatio, dated 321/0, archonship of Archippos. IG.II.1059 transcribes every occurrence of pi in the form Π . IG.II² 2498 states that both Π and Π occur. Prof. Dover supplied me with the following data:- in line 1 $\delta\pi\epsilon$ is inscribed with pi in the form Π ; thereafter the form is usually Π , except in the following cases:

(1) line 8: the pi in $\delta\pi\omicron$ is in the form Π

(1) Griechische Epigraphik, pp.270-275.

(ii) line 15: the pi in Παράλιον is in the disjointed form Π

(iii) line 21: the pi in πλεῖω is in the form Π

(iv) line 22: the pi in καρπός is in the form Π .

Prof. Dover affirms that it is a carelessly inscribed stone - witness line 22 where all the letters are beginning to slope over to the right, so that we actually have a form of pi with the right-hand leg longer than the left-hand one.

The form in line 21 (Π) would appear to be a carelessly inscribed Π , on which the stone-cutter has used the same chisel to make the 3 strokes. I would accept the forms Π , Π and Π as deliberate, since they are all well attested elsewhere at this period - although one does wonder why the stone-cutter was not more consistent.

The crux of the matter, then, is line 15 - Π - but I feel convinced that this is not an attempt to inscribe the form Π , but a careless version of the form Π or, more likely, of Π . My reason for ruling out a possible form Π is that there are no other instances of it before 178/7, except perhaps in IG.II² 2856.(c.250/49) and ib.2857.(220/19). Unfortunately, I have been unable to check the letter-forms in either of these 2 inscrs., but all the reports of the stones, except IG.II², give Π or Π as the forms of pi. Since they would be such isolated cases of the form - about 70 and 40 years respectively before the next occurrences - and since it is more likely a carelessly inscribed form which has prompted the readings, I propose to ignore these two and date inscr. with the form Π "p.179.s." ("s." = on grounds of script.)

All this does not necessarily mean that the form Π does not or could not occur as early as 321/0 or 250/49, although it is very unlikely that it does, except perhaps accidentally. My point is that a more realistic terminus

post quem is given if I place the form just before the period of which it is characteristic.

The following list gives all the criteria which I have applied. The terminus post quem is the year immediately preceding the first occurrence of the letter-form in question:-

1.ALPHA.

Α first occurs in 259/8: therefore script-date is p.260.s.
 Α " " " 244/3: " " " p.245.s.
 Α " " " 220/19: " " " p.221.s.
 Α " " " 196/5: " " " p.197.s.

2.DELTA.

Δ first occurs in 244/3: therefore script-date is p.245.s.

3.EPSILON.

Ε first occurs in 220/19: therefore script-date is p.221.s.

4.LAMBDA.

Λ first occurs in 244/3: therefore script-date is p.245.s.

5.OMICRON.

= first occurs in 175/4: therefore script-date is p.176.s.

6.PI. (see above)

Π first(?) occurs in 178/7: therefore script-date is p.179.s.

7.RHO.

Ρ first occurs in 300/299: therefore script-date is p.301.s.

As in (i) above, these dates are indicated on the tables by means of Arabic numerals placed slightly above and to the right of the number which signifies the number of exx. This system uses the even numbers as follows:-

p.301.s. represented by .2 under heading 323-300 BC.

p.260.s. " " 4 " " 274-250 "

p.245.s. " " 6 " " 249-225 "

p.221.s. " " 8 " " 224-200 "

p.197.s. " " 10 " " 199-175 "

p.179.s. " " 12 " " 199-175 "

p.176.s. " " 14 " " 199-175 "

7. PRINCIPLES of INTERPRETATION.

I have attempted to explain exceptional forms - found mainly under Phonology - in the light of the following considerations:-

1) Illiteracy.

There can be little doubt that many forms are simply errors. Most of these mistakes occur, as one might expect, in Private inscr. Some of them may be mere slips, but many probably betray the low level of literacy of the stone-cutter or of his customer.

As for the former, when hired by a private individual, he might well be a somewhat inferior - and cheaper - craftsman, or even a foreigner. But the onus probably lies with the customer, who would presumably give the stone-cutter a draft of the inscr., which one imagines would be copied as faithfully as possible.

All this raises the question of the extent of literacy in Attica. In theory all adult male citizens could attend the ἐκκλησία. In the 5th century, therefore, they could all vote in a case of ostracism,

which presupposes that they could all write at least the name of the victim. But we may suspect that this was not so, as witness the story - even although it is probably of Hellenistic origin - of the man who, not recognising Aristides, asked him to inscribe "Aristides" on the ostrakon for him: γραφομένων οὖν τότε τῶν ὀστράκων λέγεται τινα τῶν ἀγγράμων καὶ παντελῶς ἀγροίκων ἀναδόντα τῷ Ἀριστείδει τὸ ὄστρακον ὥς ἐνὶ τῶν τυχόντων παρακαλεῖν ὅπως Ἀριστείδην ἐγγράψει. (1)

cf. also Euripides frag.385, from the play "Theseus", in which an illiterate herdsman describes the shapes of the letters which make up the name "Theseus" (2). And for further illiterate monstrosities in the archaic and early classical periods, see Kretschmer (3).

Thus, although this evidence does not bear directly upon the period covered by my thesis, I feel that the possibility must be entertained that many of the contributors to the vast store of Greek inscrr. were partially or totally illiterate.

2) Analogy.

Another frequent source of peculiar forms is the influence of analogy e.g. OR.IA.ἀναοέματι : influence of οέμα.

PH.I.A.1.a.(iv). ἀνηλόματα : both α and η appear in the augmented tenses of the verb.

II.F.2.d. Παρόλονίδος : influence of Παρπατόδα.

MO.I.A.1.b.(i). Πωλιάδους : influence of 3rd. Decl. nouns in -ης (and vice versa: cf. 3.d.(i) and (ii)).

(1) Plutarch, Aristides 7.5.

(2) see Athenaeus X.454 a-e.

(3) Die griechische Vaseninschriften, passim.

3) Pedantry.

There are certain forms which probably reflect the desire to display what little learning the writer possessed e.g.

PH.I.A.1.g.(i). Ἰπποθουοντίδος : the writer knew that the hero's name was Ἰπποθούων.

D.6.b.(i). εἰδάν : εἰδάν equals εἶ + ἄν.

4) Dialect.

There is at least one occasion where the form has probably been influenced by the characteristics of a non-Attic dialect viz.

PH.I.A.2.e.(i). Ἀστοκράτης : αο for αυ is a Euboean feature.

5) Literature.

In one instance the writer may have had a poem of Anacreon in mind when he calls a man κλεῦβουλος rather than κλεόρουλος : see

PH.I.A.3.f.(ii).

6) Experiment.

In at least two cases we may detect a deliberately unusual form viz.

PH.II.F.1.b.(ii). τὸν κ- : desire to avoid τὸν κ-.

MO.I.A.1.a.(i). τῶν ἱερειῶν : (see Fraenkel's theory.)

SECTION 1.ORTHOGRAPHY.

I. In the 5th. century BC the Ionic alphabet gradually came into use at Athens, until in 403 BC, in the archonship of Eukleides, it was officially introduced for all public documents and inscrr. From this time on it rapidly superseded the other modes of writing.

The older Attic alphabet agreed in most points with the Ionic, but it used - among other signs - Ξ for ϵ , η and $\epsilon\iota$ = [e:] and Θ for \omicron , ω and $\omicron\upsilon$ = [o:], and I have found apparent traces of some of these even as late as my period:-

A. ϵ written for η :

$\alpha\nu\alpha\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ 1324.26.U.(in.s.ii.? π).

But this perhaps shows the influence of the noun $\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$.

B. \omicron written for ω :

State: several exx. of $\theta\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ e.g. 1753.27.(f.s.iv. π).

$\kappa\nu\theta\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ 1956.105.(c.300. π)

$\zeta\acute{\omicron}\iota\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ 1b.123.

$\epsilon\rho\mu\theta\nu\alpha\epsilon$ 1b.135.

Sub-Unit: several exx. of $\theta\alpha\theta\epsilon\nu$ e.g. 2353.7.U.(p.245.s.).

$\theta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon\iota$ (= $\theta\omega\acute{\alpha}$ -) π 1362.14.U.(f.s.iv. π).

This shows the influence of $\theta\omicron\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$: cf. $\zeta\omega\eta$ and $\zeta\acute{\omicron}\eta$.

$\tau\acute{\omicron}\nu$ $\epsilon\gamma\gamma\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$ 1299.11.U.(pp.236/5).

$\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\gamma\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ π 1b.40.

(π For $\theta\omega\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, see VO.I.I.

For $\pi\alpha\rho\alpha\nu\gamma$ - , see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).)

Private: several exx. of "Οαθεν e.g. 7829.P.(s.111/11.π).

Γνόμη 11,024.P.(s.111.π).

Σδοτρατος 4279.P.(f.s.111.π).

Σοτηρικος 12,746.P.(s.11.π).

Εδονυμι [υς] * 6169.P.(s.11.π).

(* Cf. PH.I.1.b.(iv).)

C. ο written for ου :

State: ἀπο | λιστ [ρ] ιο 1678.s.A.4-5.(s.315.h.).

But note that this inscr. may in fact be earlier than my period.

In 1534.B.(247/6) there are many exx. of what appears to be
ο for ου e.g. Μαλακιο(υ) 199; Εδβουλιδο(υ) 201; 'Αριστ-
ιο(υ) 206; 'Ολυμπιοδωρο(υ) 207; Εδτύχο(υ) 228; 'Αρχε-
στρο(υ) 229 etc. But IG - quite rightly, I think - notes:
"Hanc non esse terminationem ο pro ου adulterino usurpatam, ut
Meisterhans p.6²² contendit, sed compendii causa ο pro ου positum
esse colligitur ex magna copia vocabulorum alioquin in eadem tabula
per compendium scriptorum e.g. Οασιο(υ) 285; Νοήματα(ς) ,
Εδπόλιδο(ς) 207; Ψοσιδο(ς) 210 etc. etc."

Sub-Unit: τοϚ | κοινϚ. | 1261.20-21.U.(302/1).

ΜυλωθρϚ. | ib.24.

It is noticeable that both these exx. complete a line, although
neither appears at the edge of the stone, so that one cannot say
that the upsilon is lost. However, that these are genuine exx.
seems to be supported by εν τοι | ιερϚι at line 51 (see D.
below).

Private: Εἶνος Εἶνου

7552.P.(p.317/6.π).

This looks like a back-formation from the genitive.

Σονιδῶς *

7425.P.(pa.317/6.π).

Παυσανίας | Ναυικλέος * | Λακεδαιμόνιος

9153.P.(s.iii.π).

(* For Σονιδῶς , see PH.I.A.3.e.

For -κλέο(υ)ς > -κλέιο(υ)ς , see PH.I.D.6.b.(v).)

D.οι written for ωι :

τῶι δῆμοι

530.7.(f.s.iv.f.).

τῶι | τερῶι

1261.51-52.U.(300/299).

II.υ replaces γ before γ , κ and χ : see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).

SECTION 2.PHONOLOGY.I. Vowels.

A. In this section I note all vowel changes, whether I consider them to be genuine linguistic phenomena or exceptional forms to be explained in some other way. I think it is wiser to include all such potential changes, since supporting evidence may yet be found for the most unlikely example. But it is worth noting at the outset how often Private inscrr. present us with unusual forms, the majority of which probably do no more than betray the ignorance or carelessness of the stone-cutter or his patron. (see Introduction 7 : Principles of Interpretation.)

1. Simple vowels:

a) Alpha: (i) a > aa : 'Ιαάαχου 847.21.(215/4).

(ii) a > aai : 'Ετααταῖος 10,512.P.(p.197.s.). This may well be a mistake due to the following -αῖος.

(iii) a > ε : the verb given in LSJ as ἔρρηγορέω appears throughout my period in the form ἔρρηγορέω
 e.g. ἔρ[ρη]γορήσασα[ν] 3470.7.U.(p.221.s.).
 ἔρρηγορήσασαν 3472.4.U.(200-150.*).
 ἔρρηγο|ροῦσαν 3473.4-5.U.(p.179.s.).

Later in the 2nd. century I have found 1 ex. of ἔρρηγοροῦσαν 974.19.(137/6), although 2 exx. of ἔρρηγορήσασαν viz. 3496.5.P.(s.i.*) and 3497.4.P.(s.i.*) indicate that the form with ε does not die out. I can find no epigraphic evidence for the period before 323 BC.

(iv) α > η : [ἡ] νηλώματα 1328.5.U.(184/3). This

is no doubt the effect of both ᾠ and η appearing in the augmented tenses of the verb.

b) Epsilon: (i) ε > α : *Ακαλήθεν 6014.P.(s.iii.κ).

Perhaps a mistake.

(ii) ε > ευ : cf.2.f.(i) below.

*Αριστοτεύλου S.XVIII.106.2.P.(in.s.iii.κ).

This is a sepulchral inscr. bearing the names of

two persons viz. Θε{ι}όδωρος * | *Αριστοτεύλου |

Οίνατος and *Αριστοτέλης | *Αριστοβούλου |

Οίνατος . I suggest that the [u] sounds of both

*Αριστοτεύλου and *Αριστοβούλου may have

caused the confusion.

(* for Θεόδωρος : see PH.I.D.6.b.(iv).)

(iii) ε > η : Πολήμων Πολημάρχου 6613.P.(p.197.s.).

ἀνέστητην (= - κεν) 4926.a.P.(s.ii.κ).

The first of these exx. probably displays ignorance and the second carelessness.

(iv) ε > ι : Εἰονυμι [ύς] (= Εἰωνυμεύς) 6169.

P.(s.ii.κ). This seems to be a generally badly inscribed stone, and in any case the break after the iota always leaves the possibility that the horizontal strokes of an epsilon are missing there.

ἔριτης 4658.2.V.P.(s.iv/iii.κ).

(v) ε > ο : *Ορχομεν[ων 687.24 and 41.(265/4) etc.

The earlier form is *Ερχομένιος e.g. a dedi-

cation from Elis: *Ερχομένιος S.XI.1208.(447.?.κ);

cf. *E [p] χομεν [to] I².103.1.(412/11).

Ερχομέντος 10,036.P.(410-390.).

But the form with omicron occurs as early as S.XIII.12.165.(415-13) in the sale of the property of the Hermocopidae.

(vi) -εας / -τας : for Masculine Proper Names in

-εας / -τας, see WF.I.A.

(vii) ε/ι : for ε and ι at the end of verb-stems in compounds, see WF.II.A.

c) Eta:

(i) η > ι : ἀναγράψαι ... ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ | ει
H.XI.290.56.23.(247/6).

Διοσκουρίδης (= -δης) 11,196.P.(s.ii.*).

(ii) η > ηι : Εοήτιθου 6078.P.(p.221.s.). This may be a misplaced intrusive intervocalic iota (cf.D. 6.c.(ii).), but see note on ω > ωι, g.(ii) below.

(iii) ε written for η : see OR.I.A.

d) Iota:

(i) ι > ει : cf.2.b.(iii) below.

Μετλησι [α] 9825.P.(p.317/6.*).

Πεισιδης 10,080.P.(p.f.s.iv.*).

Βερνεκίδην H.S.I.89.40.33.(203/2).

γείνεσθαι 1328.5.U.(184/3).

φιλοτεμπούνται Ib.34.(175/4).

*Αφροδισίου 8131.P.(p.197.s.).

Βοσκορείτης 8424.P.(s.ii.*).

Καλλετείμα 11,758.P.(s.ii.*).

N.B.1. Most of the exx. come from Private inscrr.

2. This vowel change becomes very common after 146 BC. in State as well as Private inscrr.
3. There are no exx. of this before my period.
4. One might include here the forms of the name of the goddess Eileithya. As far as I can see, the earliest form was $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\theta\upsilon\alpha$ (cf. 4547.5.P.(pp.400.*); 4682.2.P.(s.iii.*), and the latest form is certainly $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\theta\upsilon\alpha$ (cf. 3895.4.P.(s.i.*) etc.). This then is a change of $\epsilon > \epsilon\iota$.

But to complicate matters, I have 1 ex. of $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ 4669.9.P.(s.iv/iii.*), and 1 ex. of $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha$ S.XVIII.88.2.P.(c.180.*). It seems clear that the ending $-\epsilon\iota\alpha$ instead of $-\upsilon\alpha$ reflects the ending of the Feminine of the Perfect Participle Active (see MO.II.A.3).

$\epsilon\lambda\upsilon-$ shows 2 changes: 1) $\epsilon > \epsilon\iota$ and 2) $\epsilon\iota > \upsilon$, of which the former has already been mentioned and the latter is not impossible. $\epsilon\lambda\upsilon-$ shows only 1 change from the early form viz. $\epsilon\iota > \upsilon$.

(ii) ϵ and υ interchange : see f. below.

(iii) $-\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ / $-\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$: for Masculine Proper Names in $-\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$ / $-\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$, see WF.I.A.

(iv) ϵ / ϵ : for ϵ and ϵ at the end of verb-stems in compounds, see WF.II.A.

e) Omicron:

(i) $\omicron > \omega$: $\omicron\epsilon\omicron\delta\omega\sigma\iota\alpha$ 9668.P.(p.f.s.iv.*).

Presumably the influence of $\delta\epsilon-\delta\omega-\mu\epsilon$; cf.

ἑοδόωρος ; and also to avoid the conjunction of 4 short syllables; but cf. 3.f.(i) below.

f) Upsilon: (i) $\upsilon > \iota$: ἑδοτύχις 8661.P.(s.ii.π).

(ii) υ and ι interchange : for the earlier form ἑδοτύ-

χηνάτος I find later in my period the form

ἑδοτυλήνατος e.g. 9969.P.(s.iii.π); 9968.P.(s.iii.π);

9971.P.(s.ii.π). There are practically no exx. of the earlier form after the end of the 4th. century.

Συκλωνίων 448.23.(323/2); but there are several

exx. of Σικυ- in the same inscr.

(iii) $\upsilon > \omicron$: ἑποτόνευς([α])ν 656.6.(284/3).

This is almost certainly the result of the influence of words compounded with πο- e.g. πρό-εδος .

On the other hand, Buck notes: πρότανις , Les-

bian. The more usual prefix πο- replaces the

(1) related but uncommon πυ- ". However, Lesbian

influence is most unlikely.

g) Omega: (i) $\omega > \omicron\omega$: ἑποοοωντίδος 2317.31 and 37.(162/1).

The form ἑποοοών is otherwise always used from the 5th. century onwards e.g. I² 82.4.(421/0).

This is the only occurrence before 146 BC. of a form of which a few exx. exist after the 1st. century BC., mainly in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries AD.

The form perhaps illustrates the pedantry of the author who knew that the hero's name was ἑποοοών .

(1) The Greek Dialects, p.369.

(ii) $\omega > \omega\iota$: περιττωθι θεωι 1236.12.U.(a.m.s.ii.π).

cf.c.(ii) above.

There are no exx. of this tendency to add an iota after $\bar{\alpha}$, η and ω before 323 BC. But there are several exx. in the 1st. century BC. e.g.

$\bar{\alpha} > \bar{\alpha}\iota$: της των Εππων γυμνασiais

1043.21.(?38/7)

της εν τοις δλοις φιλοπονiais

ib.44.

$\omega > \omega\iota$: νεώτερος 1046.28.(52/1)

δπλωι ib.17 and 25

ζηλωται ib.32.

One should compare the tendency to omit the iota in $\bar{\alpha}\iota$, $\eta\iota$, $\omega\iota$. (see 2.h.(i) and i.(ii) below).

A few exx. occur even as early as the end of the (1)

5th. century. And after 146 BC this trend

becomes increasingly common: e.g.

της Ἀγροτέρα 1028.8.(101/100).

της Νείαη 1006.14.(122/1).

τραγωδοις 1227.31.U.(131/0).

cf. also:- 1006.passim.(122/1); 1008.passim.

(118/7); 1011.passim.(106/5); 1028.passim.(101/100),

about which IG notes: "Iota mutum in hoc titulo

modo adscriptum, modo omisum est". And cf. 1029.

passim.(98/7) : "Iota mutum ubique fere scriptum

est".

Both of these developments show that by the

(1) see Meisterhans, Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, p.67, note 586.

2nd. century BC. the iota was no longer pronounced so that it could be omitted in writing or added at an incorrect place.

(iii) o written for ω : see OR.I.B.

2. Diphthongs:

a) αι : (i) αι > α : 'Αγέτωρ H.S.I.109.53.12.(c.186.κ).

(ii) αι > ε : ἄρχετα 687.45.(265/4).

(iii) αι > ου : Συμποσίτης 6269.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

(iv) αι V(owel) > α V(owel) : see PH.I.D.1.

b) ει : (i) ει > η : cf. PH.I.D.2.a.(i), b.(i) and (v).

This is a phenomenon which first appears fairly late in my period, after which it becomes increasingly prevalent even in State inscrr. e.g.

*Ἡπρωτίς 8537.P.(s,iii.κ).

Ελισιγένη 10,371.P.(p.179.s.).

θερα/πίας 1329.8-9.U.(175/4).

ἱερήαις 1b.16.

εὐσεβίας 1b.25.

*Αργήα 8361.a.P.(s,ii.κ).

*Ἡρακληώτισσα 8595.P.(s,ii.κ).

(ii) ει > ηι : see PH.I.C.N.B.4.

(iii) ει > ι : cf. 1.d.(i) above.

This is a phenomenon which is widespread throughout my period, although I can find only 1 ex. before 323 BC. viz. Στερεῖς 7469.P.(m.s.iv.κ). It becomes very common after 146 BC. :-

συμφέρειν	558.35.(c.303/2.h.).
*Ἐπιπράττω	1534.A.81.(292/1.π).
ἐλλείπει	1b.97.
δίσαιτοι	H.III.21.19.6.(166/5).
ἐπιδῆ	S.XVII.36.1.U.(212/11).
ἐκδίνος	1329.25-26.U.(175/4).
*Ἐπιπράττω	8536.P.(s.iii.π).
*Ἐπαλίδου	6050.P.(p.221.s.).
βραβύς	3147.5.P.(p.179.s.).

And 2 verse inscrr.:

εὐσεβίας	G.1689.6.P.(pa.317/6.π).
ἄπειμι	G.1691.5.P.(m.s.iii.π).

(iv) ει > υ : for this possibility in the name of the goddess Eileithyia, see 1.d.(i) N.B.4. above.

(v) ειV > εV : see PH.I.D.2.

(vi) ει > ε : ἐμπίστεον τῶι βασιλεῖ
646.11.(295/4.π).

This is probably a mistake, although it could conceivably be an instance of the omission of intervocalic iota: see PH.I.D.2.b.(v).

c) οι : (i) οιV > οV : see PH.I.D.3.

d) υι : (i) υι > ει : for -εῖα instead of -υῖα in Feminine Perfect Participle Active, see MO.II.A.3.

(ii) υιV > υV : see PH.I.D.4.

e) αυ : (i) αυ > αο : *Ἀστοιπράτης 10,706.P.(s.iv/iii.π).

This form may show the influence of the proximity of

Euboea. cf. Buck: "αο, εο from αυ, ευ appear in East Ionic inscrr. of the 4th. century and later e.g. αὐτός, ταῦτα. This spelling is frequent even in κοινὴ inscrr. of this region."⁽¹⁾
cf. also Tod:

ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι αὐ[τω]ι καὶ ἐκγόνους
inscr. from Erythrai, 357-5 BC.⁽²⁾

f) ευ : (i) ευ > ε : cf. 1.b.(ii) above.

ἐνοίας 1291.19.U.(m.s.iii.κ).

ἑωνυμέως 6191.P.(s.ii.κ).

ἑωνυμεύς 6165.P.(s.ii.κ).

Σελεκεύς 10,251.P.(s.ii.κ).

Before 323 BC. I have found 1 ex. viz.

Λεκονοεύς 2818.7.U.(357/6).

(ii) ευ > υ : Θημακύς H.XXX.268.95.3.U.(c.200.κ).

cf. Λαμπτρούς 11,911.P.(m.s.iv.κ).

(iii) εευ > ευ : see 3.c. below.

g) ου : (i) ου > η : Κυησιῶ 9973.P.(c.300.κ). This is almost certainly an alternative form rather than a phonological phenomenon.

(ii) ου > υ : κοιούμενος H.IV.525.39.22.(226/5).

(iii) ου written as ο : see OR.I.G.

h) αι : (i) αι > α : ἐπαῖς 8921.P.(p.179.s.). There are other

(1) op.cit., p.33.

(2) Greek Historical Inscriptions, Vol.ii, p.163, n.155.

exx. of this form in the later 2nd. century. (see also 1.g.(ii) above.)

i) ηλ : (i) ηλ > ελ : see PH.I.C.1-3.

(ii) ηλ > η : τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ 674.16.(273/2)

τῇ (Subj. of εἶναι) 1329.20.U.(175/4)

τῇ Ουσίᾳ ib.26.

ἡ[π]ολαυβάνη 1330.55.U.(p.163.*).

(see also 1.g.(ii) above.)

j) ωλ : (i) ωλV > ωV : see PH.I.D.4.

(ii) ωλ written as ολ : see OR.I.D.

3. Contraction.

a) εω>α : cf. e. below.

This change is practically exclusive to demotics in -ατεωϋ and -ετεωϋ, and it occurs only when the preceding intervocalic iota is present. Almost all the exx. come from the accusative singular of Παιπατεωϋ : Παιπατᾶ 724.3.(in.s.iii.*); 657.35.(283/2); H.XXX. 211.6.5.(c.285/4-283/2.h.); 1283.12.U.(263/2); 844.54.(193/2); 886.11.(193/2.gr.); 903.5 and 9.(c.176/5); S.XVII.66.11.U.(172/1).

But cf.

Παιπατέα H.IV.562.40.23.(281/0); 918.11.(p.245.s.); S.XVI.70.49.(pa.200.h.); H.XXX.12.8.12. (p.179.s.).

Ερινεμεῖα 678.9.(256/5).

But cf.

Τρινεμεῖα S.XVI.91.59 and 137.(173/2).

Note that there are numerous exx. of Ἀλατεῖα, Κυδ-
αθηνατεῖα, and Θηγατεῖα, but no exx. of them
with contraction.

ἄν (= εἰάν) 2499.16.U.(306/5); 1362.7.U.(f.s.iv.π);
ib.9 and 14; 1275.7.U.(in.s.iii.π).

But cf.

εἰάν :- 21 exx. from 2498.21.U.(321/0) to 1292.15.U.
(pp.216/5). One would expect that εἰάν would be more
common than ἄν in order to differentiate ἄν and ἄν.
Note that State inscrs. always use εἰάν.

Outside my period I have noted only 4 exx. of this
contraction viz.

Κυδαθηνατεῖα 1153.3.U.(pp.403/2).

Ατομετεῖα 1612.271 and 272.(356/5)

Πετρατεῖα 2873.1.U.(97/6).

b) εἰάν > αἰάν : see MO.I.D.1.

c) εἰάν > εἰάν : This is really a development of εἰάν > εἰάν > εἰάν,
and is confined to demotics in -εἰάν. (For εἰάν >
εἰάν, see PH.I.D.2.(iii).)

There are the following exx.:-

Ἀπαξαντεῖα S.XIV.62.10.(s.iii.π); ib.87.89.(f.s.iii.π)

etc. There are no exx. of Ἀπαξαντετεῖα or

Ἀπαξαντεεῖα in my period.

[Δ] τομεύς 5988.P.(p.f.s.iv.✱). This is the only ex. in my period; all other instances of the word have -ελευς or -εευς.

Ηλωθεύς 505.2.(302/1); S.XVI.63.8.(272/1) etc.

The form Ηλωθεεύς also occurs e.g. 503.3.(302/1).

d) εου > ου : Ἡρακλεῦς 1247.18.U.(m.s.iii.✱).

cf. MO.I.A.3.d.(1).

e) εω > ω : cf. a. above.

This is a feature of demotics in the 4th century, but in my period there are only 2 exx., and both of them are probably not much later than the end of the 4th century :-

Πειραιῶ | ν 1214.10.U.(300-250.✱).

Σουτιῶς (= Σουντιῶς) 7425.P.(pa.317/6.✱).

Note that, as in a. above, this contraction takes place in words ending in -αλευς, -ελευς, -ολευς, only when the intervocalic iota is present: cf.

Πειραιῶς 5404.P.(390-365.✱)

Λευκονοτιῶς 6748.P.(m.s.iv.✱).

f) εο : (i) εο- in proper names:-

State: 78 exx. of εο-

9 exx. of εου- viz.

εοῦδιππος 1631.592.(323/2)

εοῦδιππου 1b.470.

εομιλείδου 2413.21.(f.s.iv.✱)

εοκκριτίδης 382.8.(320/19)

Θουκυδίδης 1678.a.A.31.(a.315.h.).

And in the 3rd century:

Θουδόσιος 1534.A.89.(292/1.✱)

Θούκριτος H.IV.525.39.10.(226/5)

Θουμόριος II.XI.290.56.55.(247/6)

Θουχάρης 674.25.(273/2).

1 ex. of Θευ- viz.

Θευδόσιος Σώτου Ολνεΐδος φυλη[ς] 957.40.(157/6).

On the other hand, I have exx. of

Θεοδοσία 1534.B.228.(247/6); but no ex. of

Θεοδόσιος

Θεόκριτος 2434.23.(m.s.iii.✱)

Θεοχάρης 1b.25; II.XXX.220.17.36.(p.245.s.).

Sub-Unit: 43 exx. of Θεο-

3 exx. of Θου- viz.

Θούκριτος 2856.10.U.(250/49); 1286.3 and 12.U.

(c.250/49.✱).

2 exx. of Θευ- viz.

Θευδοτος Χολαρ(γούς) 1958.37.U.(p.m.s.iii.✱)

ἐπὶ Θεοφράστου ἄρχοντος 1259.2.U.(313/2).

On the other hand, I have exx. of

Θεόδοτος 1259.1.U.(313/2); 1299.51.U.(pp.236/5);

1325.13.U.(185/4); 1330.67.U.(p.163.✱).

Θεοφράστου 1202.1 and 12.U.(313/2); 1303.2.U.(p.218/7);

II.XXX.269.96.3.U.(s.ii.✱).

Private: 72 exx. of @eo-

2 exx. of @ou- viz.

@ουδόςλος 4412.1.P.(f.s.iv.κ)

@ουμόριος 6175.P.(p.221.s.).

2 exx. of @eu- viz.

@ευδοσία|Δίωνος|Ἀφιδναίου|Θυγάτηρ

5748.P.(c.s.ii.κ)

@ευτίμα Οἰνέως|Θανατίς

10,475.P.(s.ii.κ).

1 ex. of @to- viz.

@τωδώρα S.XIV.259.P.(s.iv/iii.κ).

On the other hand, I have exx. of

@εοδούλου 8205.P.(p.317/6.κ)

@εοδωσία 9668.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ)

@εδωρος 10 exx. from 8527.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ) to
9295.P.(s.ii.κ); but no ex. of
@εοδώρα .

Combining all 3 types of inserr., we find, therefore,
that there are the following contractions of @eo- :-

1.@eo->@ou- : @ούδιπλος ; @ουδόςλος ; @ου-
κλείδης ; @ουκρίτιδης ; @ού-
κριτος ; @ουκυδίδης ; @ου-
μόριος ; @ουχάρης .

Note that most of these exx. belong to the earlier
part of my period. This accords well with the evidence
before 323 BC. which shows several exx. of this change,

whereas after 146 BC. I can find only 1 ex. viz.

Θουκλς [ἴδο]υ 1009.76.(116/5). But it is also

quite clear that some of these proper names are

always in the form Θου- e.g. Θουκοδίδης .

2.Θεο->Θευ- : Θεοδοσία ; Θεόδοτος ; Θεύ-

δοτος ; Θεύτιμα ; Θεύφραστος .

Meisterhans ⁽¹⁾ says: " Die Kontraktion von eo in eu findet sich vereinzelt in ionisierenden Personen-
namen (eingewanderte Fremde)". This is quite mis-
leading, since the only non-Athenian in the exx. I
have given is Θεύτιμα .

Before 323 BC. the only exx. are Θευγείτων
and Θευγένης , both in the same inscr. viz. I²374.
(408/7-407/6). Θευγείτων Πετραεὺς occurs
at lines 219 and 316, Θευγένης Πετραεὺς
at lines 12 and 214. After 146 BC. I have found only
1 ex. viz. Θευξένου 5472.P.(s.i.π).

3.Θεο->Θεω- : Θεωδώρα .

(ii) Κλεο- in proper names:-

State: 10 exx. of Κλεο-

1 ex. of Κλευ- viz.

Ἀλκίμαχον Κλευβούλου Κυρρινοῦσιον

668.19.(266/5).

(1) op.cit., p.61, sect.19.

My attention was drawn by Professor Dover to the famous poem of Anacreon. (1)

Κλευβούλου μὲν ἔγωγ' ἔρῶ,
 Κλευβούλωι δ' ἐπιμαίνομαι,
 Κλεῦβουλον δὲ διοςκῶ.

It is just possible that acquaintance with this poem may have influenced the choice of form.

Note that the form Κλεόβουλος also occurs e.g.

Καλλισθένης Κλεοβούλου Πρὸς Πάλιος
 2854.1.U.(254/3).

Sub-Unit: 3 exx. of Κλεο-
 no ex. of other forms.

Private: 8 exx. of Κλεο-
 no ex. of other forms.

(iii) Ἄρεο-παγίται :-

1 ex. of Ἄρεο- viz.

*Ἀρεοπα[γί]ται 1492.135.(305/4).

2 exx. of Ἄρεν- viz.

*Ἀρενπαγιτῶν 839.51.(221/0); 1539.7.(215/4).

It is noteworthy that, although 839 contains a State decree, it was put up as a dedication to Asclepius by one Εὐκλῆς. Note too that 1539 is very similar to 839, and also pertains to Asclepius. In both inscrs. we find among the Areopagites Θεόγνις Κυδαθηναεὺς

(1) see Gentili, Anacreon, p.7, no.5.

and ἀμείτερος δημόσιος .

These are the only exx. of a vowel change which I can find, including the periods before 323 BC. and after 146 BC.

N.B. For Ἀπετο- > Ἀπεο- , see PH.I.D.2.b.(iv).

B. Omission of Syllable.

This phenomenon occurs in the following exx. :-

Ἀφροστακόν (= Ἀφροδότο-) 1587.6.(f.s.iv.¶). The fuller form occurs in the previous line, and this must be a mistake.

Κυδαναλέως (= Κυδαθην-) 6583.P.(s.ii.¶). Again a mistake.

τέτραχμον (= τετράδροχμον) 1534.A.91,110 and 111.(292/1.¶);
ib.B.194,203,212,231,235 etc.(247/6).

Unlike the first 2 exx. there is no doubt that this was a recognized form of the word. cf. ἀμφορεύς < ἀμφορεεύς ; ἡμέδιμνον < ἡμμεδέιμνον ; and cf. Latin semodius < semimodius.

The adverb τέτραχα (τετραχῆι) may also have helped to consolidate the form by analogy.

C. ητ becomes ετ.

1. Dative Singular of First Declension Feminines.

I have divided this into several sections in order to give as lucid a picture as possible. At the end of each section I give an indication of the trends before and after my period - although it should be noted that the figures I quote are to be taken only as a rough estimate based on a cursory examination of the material available.

They are in no way exact, but nevertheless do give a fairly reliable guide. In the earlier period I consider exx. only after 403 B.C.

a) τῇ βουλῇ : all the exx. of this combination, except 2, are confined to State documents. The following table illustrates the frequencies of ητ and ετ :-

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
τῇ βουλῇ	1	4	2	1	8	-	-	3
	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	a	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3 b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
τῇ βουλαῖ	1	7	6	13	2	10	14	22
	2	-	-	2	2	-	1	7
	a	-	2	-	2	4	4	-
	3 b	3	2	-	-	1	1	-
	c	-	-	4 ³	4 ⁶	-	3 ¹⁰ 1 ¹⁴	-

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
τῆς βουλευτ	1	1	1	4	6	-	-	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
	a	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	1 ⁶	-	-	-
τετ βουλῆς	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
τῆς βουλ-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	a	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	2	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
τετ βουλ-	1	-	1	-	-	1	1	3
	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	1
	a	1	1	1	1	3	1	1
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	1	-
	c	-	-	-	3 ⁶	-	2 ¹²	1 ⁹

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
τ- βουλῆι	1	1	1	2	-	-	-	1
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	2	-	1	-	-
	3b	3	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	1 ³ 1 ^{3a}	-	-	-	-
τ- βουλεῖ	1	1	3	-	1	1	1	1
	2	2	1	-	-	-	1	1
	a	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
	3b	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	2 ⁶	-	-	-

The 2 other instances of this combination are in Sub-Unit documents and are both τεῖ βουλεῖ ; they come from the same inscr. viz. 1362.(f.s.iv.π).

The preceding table can be furthered analysed, counting each occurrence of ῆι or εῖ as 1 :-

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
ῆι	1	13	6	9	23	-	-	7
	2	1	2	-	1	-	1	-
	T	14	8	9	24	-	1	7
	3	10	6	5	1	2	-	-
εῖ	1	18	17	30	11	22	30	48
	2	3	1	4	6	-	4	16
	T	21	18	34	17	22	34	64
	3	10	12	9	20	15	22	3

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
		S U	S U	S U	S U	S U	S U	S U
ἀγαθεῖ τύχ-	1	- 1	1 -	- 1	- -	- -	1 -	- -
	2	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1 -	- -
	a	2 -	- -	1 -	1 -	- -	- -	- -
	3b	1 -	2 -	- -	- -	1 -	- -	- -
	c	- -	- -	- -	1 ⁶ 1 ⁶	- -	- -	- -
ἀγαθ- τύχη	1	1 1	- -	- -	- -	- 1	- -	1 -
	2	- -	- -	1 -	- -	- -	- -	- -
	a	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
	3b	- -	1 -	- -	- -	- 1	- -	- -
	c	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
ἀγαθ- τύχει	1	2 -	1 1	2 3	1 -	1 1	- -	1 -
	2	- -	- -	- -	1 -	- -	- -	- -
	a	1 -	1 -	- -	- -	- -	1 -	2 -
	3b	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
	c	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -

The other ex. of this combination is

[A] γαθεῖ Τύχει 4610.2.P.(f.s.iv.π).

The preceding table is further analysed overleaf:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ηλ	1	10	7	2	2	10	4	-	4	-	1	-	-	3	-
	2	2	-	-	-	1	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	12	7	2	2	11	6	2	4	-	1	-	-	3	-
	3	5	-	5	1	4	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
ελ	1	10	5	17	1	14	10	11	4	11	9	21	18	19	-
	2	-	-	6	-	4	2	1	2	2	2	5	-	-	-
	T	10	5	23	1	18	12	12	6	13	11	26	18	19	-
	3	7	-	11	8	1	6	10	7	11	-	6	6	4	-

This shows a clear increase in the proportion of ελ : ηλ

In the period before 323 BC I can find no ex. of ελ in this formula. After 146 BC the ratio of ηλ : ελ is 57:17, and none of the exx. of ελ is later than the end of the second century.

c) στῆλαι λιθίναι : all the exx. are divided between State and

Sub-Unit documents:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
στῆλαι λιθίναι	1	3	-	1	1	4	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	1 ³	2 ³	-	-	1 ⁵	-	-	-	-	-

		323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
	DC	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
στήλει λιθίνει	1	2	1	1	-	1	2	4	1	-	3	3	2	6	-
	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-
	a	2	-	-	2	-	1	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	3 ⁶	1 ⁶	-	-	1 ¹²	1 ¹²	-	1 ^{9a}
στήλη λιθίνει	1	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
στήλει λιθίνει	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
στήλη λιθίν-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ¹²	-	-	-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
στήλ- λιθίν-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-
	a	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	2 ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
στήλ- λιθίνη	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
στήλ- λιθίνει	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The preceding table is further analysed overleaf:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ηc	1	6	1	5	2	8	-	3	-	2	-	2	-	-	-
	2	3	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	T	9	1	7	2	8	-	4	-	2	1	2	-	-	-
	3	8	2	4	2	3	4	5	-	5	-	3	-	-	-
εc	1	4	3	5	-	2	6	10	2	1	6	9	4	13	-
	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	4	1	1	4	-	-	-
	T	6	3	5	-	4	6	11	6	2	7	13	4	13	-
	3	16	-	4	4	2	4	8	6	7	2	6	3	-	2

Again there is an increase in the proportion of $\epsilon_L : \eta_L$.

In the period before 323 BC there is an overwhelming majority of
 The only exx. of $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\theta\iota\varsigma\epsilon\iota$ are 29.3.(387/6); 1180.
 22.U.(m.s.iv.*); 1253.11.U.(p.m.s.iv.*); 1184.22.U.(334/3); 1256.11.
 U.(329/8), and in the other combinations there are only 2 exx. of $\epsilon\iota$.

After 146 DC there are no exx. of 84 .

d) Article with nouns (except $\theta\omega\lambda\lambda\eta$): all the exx. are divided between State and Sub-Unit documents:-

[illegible]

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ტეწ -ელ	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	3	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	1 ³	2 ³ 1 ⁴	-	-	-	1 ⁸	-	-	-	-
ტწლ -ელ	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ტეწ -ელ	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ტწლ -	1	14	2	13	1	4	-	9	1	2	1	1	1	9	-
	2	1	-	1	-	1	4	-	6	-	-	-	-	1	-
	a	2	3	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	3b	3	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	3 ³ 2 ⁴	2 ³	2 ⁶	-	-	-	1 ¹⁰ 1 ¹²	-	-	-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
τστ	1	7	2	5	-	19	1	4	3	8	2	20	4	14	-
	2	4	-	3	-	4	-	-	2	-	4	4	-	2	-
	a	3	1	2	-	4	-	4	1	3	-	1	-	1	-
	3b	3	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	2 ³	1 ⁴	3 ⁶	3 ⁶	-	-	-	-	1 ⁹	-
-														1 ¹¹	

The preceding table is further analysed as follows:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ηλ	1	18	4	15	1	4	-	10	1	3	1	1	1	9	-
	2	1	-	1	-	1	4	-	8	-	-	2	-	1	-
	T	19	4	16	1	5	4	10	9	3	1	3	1	10	-
	3	7	9	1	7	6	2	3	-	-	-	3	1	-	-
ελ	1	7	2	5	2	21	1	5	5	9	2	20	6	20	-
	2	4	-	3	-	4	-	-	6	-	4	4	-	2	-
	T	11	2	8	2	25	1	5	11	9	6	24	6	22	-
	3	8	3	8	2	8	7	7	8	3	2	2	-	3	-

Again an increase in the proportion of ελ : ηλ .

In the period before 323 BC the only exx. of ελ are 1186.13.U.
(m.s.iv.π); 1153.1.U.(m.s.iv.π).

After 146 BC the ratio of ηλ : ελ is 70:9, and there are only 2
exx. of ελ after the end of the second century.

e) i. ἤλ ... ὑπομνήσεις(ν) : the exx. are all from State documents:-

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
ἤλ	1	18	16	14	15	7	14	13
	2	5	1	-	-	-	3	4
	T	23	17	14	15	7	17	17
	a	4	1	2	1	-	1	1
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	1 ³	-	-	1 ¹⁰	-
ἐλ	1	5	2	1	-	1	-	1
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	5	2	1	-	1	-	1
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	1 ⁶	-	-	-

Unlike the previous exx., there is a very definite preponderance of ἤλ, and there is no increase at all in the number of instances of ἐλ during the period. The reason may be to avoid confusion between EI = ἐλ and EI = ἐλ.

In the periods before 323 BC and after 146 BC there are no exx. of ἐλ.

ii. All other occurrences of the Relative Pronoun: the exx. are all from State documents:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
	1	36	1	20	-	21	2	18	-	8	-	30	-	25	1
-ελ	2	6	-	2	-	1	-	3	-	1	-	5	-	7	-
	T	42	1	22	-	22	2	21	-	9	-	35	-	32	1
	a	6	1	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	2 ⁴	2 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

This shows a definite preponderance of ελ, even as early as the end of the fourth century.

Before 323 BC the ratio of ηλ : ελ is 25:8, and 7 of the exx. of ελ appear in the period after 350 BC.

After 146 BC the ratio of ηλ : ελ is 38:22. There are only 3 exx. of ελ later than the end of the second century.

g) All other First Declension Feminine Dative Singulars:

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
	1	-	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
-ηλ	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	3	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-
	a	2	3	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	2 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	3 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹²	-	-	-	-

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
-ελ	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	6	4	-	1	-	-
	2	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	1	7	-	-	5	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
	T	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	3	-	3	7	-	-	5	-	7	4	-	2	-	-
	a	3	3	-	4	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1	-
	3b	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	c	-	-	2 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 ⁶	-	-	-	3 ⁵	-	-	1 ¹⁰	-	-	-

These figures may not be significant in themselves, but taken together with the preceding sections they add weight to the conclusion that ελ developed at the expense of ηλ.

Before 323 BC there is a preponderance of ηλ, except in 1611. (357/6) where there are several exx. of ελ.

After 146 BC the only ex. of ελ is

*Αφροδίτη 2872.3.U.(c.98/7).

N.B. The evidence from Verse inscrr. is very meagre and can be set out here as follows:-

ηλ	: δημοσύνη	4658.1.V.P.(s.iv/iii.π)
	τηλιδε	2948.1.V.U.(in.s.ii.π).
ελ	: σελ	G.1459.4.P(pp300.π)
	τελιδε	G.1601.6.P.(in.s.iii.π)
	Νησε	3089.2.V.?P.(200-150.π)
	τελ	10,490. .V.P.(p.179.s.).

2. ητ becomes ετ in initial and medial position.

a) The augment ητ : all the exx. are from αἰρεῖω, ἐπαίνεω

and παραινέω, and are divided between State and Sub-Unit documents:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ητ	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3 abc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ετ	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	2	2	1	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	-
	T	1	-	1	1	2	-	1	4	2	4	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3 b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The number of exx. is few but would seem to support the general picture.

Before 323 BC the ratio of ητ : ετ is 6:3, and all 3 exx. of ετ are after 350 BC.

After 146 BC there are no exx. of ετ.

b) Tribal Names in -ηε :

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
ηε	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁵	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ει	1	7	1	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	37	-	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	8	1	-	2	-	-	3	-	-	4	-	-	2	1	-	1	-	-	37	-	-
	a	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	5	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	1 ¹	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁵	-	-	3 ¹⁰	-	1 ¹⁰	-	-	1 ¹¹

Again a preponderance of ει .

cf. Ἐπεχθελεῖν 3474.1.V.U.(p.179.s.)

Αἰγελδαῖσι 1b.5.

Before 323 BC there are only 4 exx. of ει viz.

Οἰνεῖς 110.4.(363/2)

Αἰγελδοῖς 225.1.(343/2); 337.3.(333/2); 360.2.(325/4).

After 146 BC I can find only 1 ex. of ηε viz.

Οἰνηδοῖς 1039.83.(?79/8).

This is the only type which does not revert to ηε after 146 BC. Note,

however, the difference between this type and the others. Here the iota of the inflection - $\acute{\epsilon}\iota$: - $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\omicron\omicron\iota$ is always pronounced.

3. Third Person Singular of Subjunctives ending in - $\eta\iota$: all the exx. are divided between State and Sub-Unit documents:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
$\eta\iota$	1	5	2	7	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3	1	-
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
	T	9	2	7	-	-	-	3	1	-	1	1	3	2	-
	a	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
$\epsilon\iota$	1	16	7	5	-	1	1	3	3	2	2	3	5	-	-
	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	2	-	-	2	-
	T	18	7	5	-	1	3	3	5	2	4	3	5	2	-
	a	4	-	-	6	-	1	1	1	1	-	2	-	1	-
	3b	-	4	4	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	2 ⁴	1 ⁶	-	-	1 ⁸	-	1 ¹²	1 ⁹	-

This shows a definite preponderance of $\epsilon\iota$.

Before 323 BC there are several exx. of $\epsilon\iota$ from 96.10.(375/4) onwards. In fact, there are almost as many exx. of $\epsilon\iota$ as $\eta\iota$. This is probably due to the influence of the Indicative endings - $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, - $\epsilon\iota$.

After 146 BC there are no exx. of $\epsilon\iota$. This is in accordance with the general reversal to $\eta\iota$.

Combining sections 1, 2 and 3 - i.e. by adding together all the exx. of Dating Categories 1 and 2 - we get the following picture. The figures given are only for State and Sub-Unit, since there are no exx. from Private inscrr. which belong to Categories 1 or 2 :-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ηλ	T	116	18	73	5	56	12	67	15	14	4	26	7	43	-
ελ	T	130	20	87	4	110	27	77	39	62	38	143	37	192	1

N.B. 1.ελ is written more frequently than ηλ, and as the period progresses, the ratio of ελ : ηλ increases.

2. The only type for which this tendency does not obtain is ἥλ ἐγραμμάτευε(ν) . If the figures for this are subtracted from the above table, the preponderance of ελ is even more evident.

3. Of the Dative Singular of First Declension Masculines in -ης there are very few instances; nevertheless ελ occurs more frequently than ηλ . The god Hermes accounts for most of the exx., and he is always in the form Ἑρμεῖ :-

State: Ἀπολλωνι] ἄτηι	391.8.(b.321/0 - 319/8)
Ὀρέστηι	2320.13 and 19.(pp.288)
Ἐπῳι πολεμιστῇι	956.82-83.(161/0); 957.65.(157/6); 1b.71,75; 958.85.(154/3).
Ποητεῖ	2319.65.(pp.288); 2323.212.(168/7)
Ἑρμεῖ	H.VII.116.22.13.(255/4)
Ἐπῳι πολεμιστεῖ	2316.29.(c.166/5.π); 1b.32,37.

Sub-Unit: Ἑρμεῖ 2981.1 and 11.(160/59); H.XXX.21.13.

Private: Ἐρμεῖ 4657.3.(s.iv/iii.π); 4679.7.(s.iii.π);
3089.1.V.7P.(200-150.π).

There are exx. of this change from about 357 BC onwards, and several exx. after 146 BC, the last being just after the end of the second century.

4. The reverse process, i.e. εἰ becomes ἦι, gives the following picture:-

State: (i) there are no instances of -εἰ > -ἦι in the Dative Singular of the Third Declension.

(ii) there are no instances of -εἰ > -ἦι in the Third Person Singular of the Present, Imperfect or Future Indicatives Active.

Sub-Unit: (i) there is one ex. of -εἰ > -ἦι viz.

πῶι δὲ δεκάτωι ἔτηι 2498.18.(321/0).

(ii) no instances in the Third Person Singular of Verbs.

Private: there are no instances of (i) or (ii).

Before 323 BC there are a few exx., even in State inscrr., of -εἰ > -ἦι e.g. πόληι 17.10.(394/3); 42.5.(378/7)

ἀκροπόληι 106.17.(368/7); 217.9.(346/5); 222.

29.(c.344/3); 333.a.12.(335/4)

Δεξικράτηι 1443.7.(344/3)

Πολυμήδηι 1544.8.(329/8).

After 146 BC I have found only 1 ex. viz.

Διοκλήι 1046.19.(52/1).

D. Intervocalic Iota.

1. Diphthong ai .

a) Combinations of 4 Vowels.

N.B. 1. Where there are several exx. I quote the earliest and the latest.

2. Figures in brackets before exx. indicate number of occurrences.

(i) αιαι :

S:- except in *Αθηνᾱ (i.e. *Αθηναια > -αα>ᾱ; cf. b.(i) below) the iota is never omitted: e.g. *Αθηνᾱι 1492.54.(305/4).

7 exx. of -αιαι:

(5) Βουλαῖαι 790.11.(235/4) - H.S.I.135.72.8.(167/6).

(2) παλαῖαι 2320.18.(c.288.π); ib.39.

U:- no exx. of combination. But cf. *Αθηνᾱι S.XV.112.9.(235/4); 1224.b.13.(p.245.s.); 3473.1.(p.179.s.).

P:- 1 ex., iota retained: Βουλαῖαι 4675.1.(m.s.iii.π).

(ii) αιεα(αιᾶ) :

S:- 2 exx. of omission: Θηγαῖα 2797.A.6.(290/89); ib.B.13.

28 exx. of -αιεα:

(7) *Αλαιῖα 550.11.(p.314/3.h.) - H.S.I.129.71.34.(169/8).

(4) Κυθαθηναῖα 668.24.(266/5) - 896.50.(186/5).

(4) Πειραιῖα H.IV.562.40.23.(281/0) - 918.11.(p.179.s.).

(9) Πειραιᾶ π 543.8.(a.303/2.f.) - 903.9.(c.176/5).

(4) Θηγαῖα H.S.I.147.82.6.(c.169-148.π) - H.III.31.21.25.(155/4).

(π for -ῖα>ᾶ, see A.3.a. above.)

U:- 2 exx. of omission: Πειραιῖα H.III.44.33.9.(in:s.iii.π).

Κυθαθη/ναῖα 1247.16-17.(m.s.iii.π).

3 exx. of -αιεα:

*Αλαίσα 1223.19.(p.179.s.).

(2) Πειραιά 1283.12.(263/2); S.XVII.66.11.(172/1).

P:- none.

(iii) αλει :

S:- 3 exx. of omission: Πειραιί 380.9.and 13.(320/19); H.S.I.

86.38.3.(208/7.?).

6 exx. of -αλει :

(6) Πειραιει H.V.422.15.4.(196/5) - 946.5.(166/5).

U:- 2 exx., iota retained: Πειραιει 1217.7.(261/0); 1283.17.(263/2).

P:- none.

(iv) αλευ :

S:- 47 exx., iota retained:

(9) *Αλαειύς 381.9.(320/19) - 2332.37.(183/2).

(2) *Ανακαειύς H.IX.345.44.3.(319/8); H.VII.110.20.8.(258/7).

Βησαειύς 2332.346.(183/2).

(4) Θοραιεύς 832.6.(229/8) - 949.4.(165/4).

(5) Κυδαθηναειύς 3073.4.(307/6) - 2332.117.(183/2).

(19) Πειραιεύς 1682.17.(285/4) - 1938.63.(152/1).

Πτολεμαειύς 2313.50.(190/89).

(6) Φηγαειύς 449.6.(318/7.κ) - 905.8.(175/4).

U:- 2 exx. of omission: Πειραιεύς 1955.6 and 25.(c.320.κ).

12 exx. of -αλευ :

*Αλαειύς H.XI.295.58.4.(152/1).

*Ανακαειύς 1299.83.(pp.236/5).

- (2) Κυδαθηναίεϋς 1247.2.(m.s.iii.κ); 1325.7.(185/4).
 (7) Πειραιεύ- 1214.1.(300-250.κ) - 1329.3.(175/4).
 Πλαταιεύς 1299.115.(pp.236/5).

P:- 3 exx. of omission: Ἀλατιεύς 5489.(s.ii.κ).

Πειραιεύς S.XVIII.109.4.(in.s.iii.κ);
 Η[ε]ραεύς 7191.(s.iii/ii.κ).

24 exx. of - ατεϋ :

- (7) Ἀλατιεύς 5488.(s.iv/iii.κ) - S.XV.145.(s.ii.κ).
 Ἀνακατιεύς 5646.(s.ii.κ).
 Βησαιεύς 5899.(s.iii.κ).
 (7) Κυδαθηναίεϋς 6569.3.(f.s.iv.κ) - 6579.(p.221.s.).
 (5) Πειραιεύς 7194.(p.f.s.iv.κ) - G.1821.2.(s.ii.κ).
 Πλαταιεύς 10,093.a.(s.iii.κ).
 Πτολεμαίεϋς 10,130.(p.f.s.iv.κ).
 Φωκαίεϋς 10,492.(p.197.s.).

(v) ατεω :

S:- 1 ex. of omission: Ἀν[α]αέως H.X.268.69.2.(319/8.anag.).

10 exx. of - ατεω :

- Ἀλααέως S.XVI.175.2.(c.300-250.κ).
 Θορααέως 2801.9.(p.179.s.).
 (8) Πειραιαέως 463.2.(307/6) - 2798.4.(197/6).

U:- 1 ex. of omission: Η[ε]ρααέων H.III.44.33.5.(in.s.iii.κ).

6 exx. of - ατεω :

- (4) Πειραιαέων 1214.4.(300-250.κ); ib.15, 25, and 33.
 Πειραιαέων * ib.10.
 Πειραιαέως 1283.16.(263/2).

(* for - ὄν , see A.3.e. above.)

P:- 2 exx. of omission: Θηγαῶς 7634.(s.iii/ii.*); H.XV.221.47.

(c.200.*).

12 exx. of - αἰεω :

(4) *Αλαῖεω 5467.(p.f.s.iv.*) - 7481.(s.ii.*).

*Ανακαῖεω 10,304.(p.179.s.).

(2) Θοραῖεω 6215.(p.a.317/6.*); 6210.a.(s.iii.*).

Κυδαθηναῖω[ς] 7211.(p.179.s.); cf. Κυδαναιῶς *6583.(s.ii.*).

(2) Πετραῖεω 7200.(p.f.s.iv.*); 7184.(p.179.s.).

Πλαταῖεω 10,097.(s.iii/ii.*).

(* for the loss of syllable, see B. above.)

(vi) αἰα :

S:- 3 exx., iota retained: *Αχαῖας 2314.48.(p.191.*); ib.50,54.

U and P:- none.

(vii) αἰοι :

N.B. The iota in *Αθηναῖοι is never omitted in any case. It is therefore excluded from all the relevant combinations which follow.

S:- 15 exx., iota retained:

Αχαιοῖ 1956.191.(c.300.); cf. *Αχαιοῖς 687.38.(265/4).

Θηβαῖοι 1956.89.(c.300.*).

Κυρηναῖοι ib.67.

Λαρισταῖοι ib.61.

Μηθυρναῖοι ib.108.

Μυτιληναῖοι ib.133.

Ῥωμαῖοις H.III.18.18.18.(169/8).
 Εἰσαῖοι 665.44.(266/5).
 Οἰναῖοι H.S.I.71.28.57.(229/8 or 228/7.π).

Ἀμαξιαῖοις 463.45.(307/6).
 Παλαῖοις H.VII.116.22.12.(255/4).
 Κοδριαῖοι 1678.a.51 and 55.(a.315.h.).
 ὄπ[ερτο]ναῖοις 463.58.(307/6).

U:- 1 ex., iota retained: παλαῖοις 1330.45.(p.163.π).

P:- none.

(viii) αἰωι :

S:- 4 exx., iota retained:

Ἐρυνθ[ρ]αῖωι 1492.106.(305/4).
 κολυφαῖωι 1534.A.38.(292/1.π).
 Παρθενοπαῖωι 2320.21.(pp.288.π).
 Φιλαθηναῖωι 2323.233.(155/4).

U:- 4 exx., iota retained:

Ληναῖωι 2854.2.(254/3).
 Νυμφαῖωι 1283.18.(263/2).
 προκυλαῖωι 1330.25.(p.163.π).
 Πτολ[ε]μαῖωι 1303.9.(p.218/7).

P:- none.

b) Combinations of 3 Vowels.

(i) αἰα :

S:- except in Ἀθηναῖ (cf. a.(i) above) the iota is never

omitted: e.g. (2) Ἀθηναῖον H.VIII.35.9.6.(303/2.π);
687.54.(265/4.).

(8) Ἀθηναῖος 1474.15.(318/7) - 909.24.(c.170.h.).

47th exx. of -αία :

Ἀτακδόν 885.17.(c.200.h.).

Δικαίταρχος 1956.86.(c.300.π).

Φαίλαξ 1631.286.(323/2).

(13) Ἀταντίδος 449.1.(318/7.π) - 958.94.(154/3);

cf. Ἀταντίδης H.III.31.21.48.(155/4);

and Ἀταντίς 958.57.(154/3).

(5) Παιαντιεύς 493.10.(303/2) - 1534.B.164.(247/6);

cf. Παιαντέως 1539.6.(215/4);

and Παιαντιά H.III.31.21.21.(155/4).

Βουλαίας H.VI.450.3.20.(b.224-196.h.).

(2) Ἐλαίας H.XVI.165.64.31 and 47.(161/0): cf.(vii) below.

(7+) κεραίας 1631.267,273,425 and 427.(323/2); 1632.9,31
etc.(323/2); 657.14.(283/2).

Κυρηναία 2313.60.(190/89.π).

Μιδαίας 1534.B.263.(247/6).

γωνιαία 1680.11.(f.s.iv.π).

ἐπιτόναια 1682.23.(285/4).

Παναθηναία 657.15.(283/2);

cf. τὰ Ἀθηναία 1937.2.(156/5).

[πο]διαίας 463.80.(307/6).

Πτολεμαῖα 1938.4.(152/1).

*Ρωμαῖα 1b.2.

στο[ι]χιαῖα 463.57.(307/6).

τρ[ί]καia 832.13.(229/8).

ὑπερτόναια 463.56.(307/6).

U:- 7 exx., iota retained:

(3) Δικαίταρχον 1311.4,(c.f.s.iii.π) - 1236.15.(a.m.s.ii.π).

ἱσαῖαν H.XI.283.55.20.(p.260.s.).

ἀρχαῖα 1b.9.

*Ἑρμαῖα 2971.14.(c.315/4.π).

κεφάλαια H.XI.283.55.7.(p.260.s.).

P:- 17 exx., iota retained:

Δικαίταρχον H.XXX.281.147.(p.197.s.).

(2) Πατανιεύς 7037.(s.iii.π); 7053.(s.ii.π);

cf. (2) Πατανιέως 7049.(s.iii.π); 7474.(p.179.s.).

*Ἑρμαῖα 11,312.(p.f.s.iv.π).

Θηβαῖα 8860.(s.ii.π).

Κυμαῖα 9117.(p.f.s.iv.π).

Κυρηναῖα 9123.(s.ii.π).

Λαπκαῖα 9198.(p.179.s.).

Λαρισαῖα 9199.(s.iii/ii.π).

Μαῖα 12,019.(s.ii.π).

Μιτυληναῖα 9968.(s.ii.π).

Μυριναῖα 9975.(m.s.ii.π).

*Ρωμαῖα 10,157.(p.179.s.).

Σμυρναία 10,371.(p.179.s.).

Ταναγραία 10,409.(p.179.s.).

(ii) αιε :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained: αἰετός 1534.A.103.(292/1.π).

U and P: none.

(iii) αιεῖ :

S:- 9 exx., iota retained:

*Αλαιεῖς 678.20.(256/5).

*Ανακαίεῖς H.S.I.120.64.101.(178/7).

Βησαιεῖς 1b.129.71.70.(169/8).

Θοραιεῖς 1b.88.(169/8).

Κρηταιεῖς 844.12.(193/2).

Κυδαθηναίεῖς 665.46.(266/5).

(2) Πειραιεῖς H.S.I.120.64.72.(178/7); 1b.116.60.13.(pa.178/7π).

Θηγαίεῖς 2362.29.(c.200.π).

U:- 6 exx., iota retained:

(6) Πειραιεῖς 2498.2.(321/0) - 1214.34.(300-250.π).

P:- none.

(iv) αιι :

S:- 4 exx. of omission:

(4) Πτολεμαῖδος 944.b.7.(p.221.s.); 958.47,57 and 72.(154/3).

16 exx. of - αιι :

*Αθηναίων 1587.14.(f.s.iv.π).

(2) Ἑρμαιικόν 1588.4 and 5.(in.s.iii.π).

(12) Πτολεμαῖδος 896.29.(186/5) - 957.70.(157/6);

cf. Πτολεμαῖς 1b. 28.

U:- none.

P:- 7 exx. of omission:

*Αθηναῖς 10,506.(s.ii.π).

(2) Ἑρμαῖς 11,314.(p.f.s.iv.π); 11,314.a.(p.197.s.).

*Ἑρμαῖσκος H.XX.281.145.(s.ii.π).

(3) Πλαταῖκή 10,100.(p.197.s.); 10,086.bis.(s.iii.π).

11 exx. of - αικ:

(5) *Αθηναῖς 8556.(s.iii/ii.π) - 8555.(s.iii.π).

*Ἑρμαῖσκου 8858.(f.s.iv.π).

*Ἡραῖς 8974.(s.iii.π).

Θηραις 8872.(s.iii.π).

(2) Πλαταῖκή 10,088.(p.197.s.); S.XIV.222.(s.iii.π).

Πτολεμαῖτις 10,127.(p.f.s.iv.π).

(v) υιο :

S:- 85 exx, iota retained:

Δικαιογένης 1631.380.(323/2);

cf.(2) δικαιοσύνης 487.17.(304/3); 537.1.(f.s.iv.π);

and Δίκαιος H.III.31.21.78.(155/4).

(2) *Εστιαῖδεν 1631.351.(323/2); 678.28.(256/5).

*Αγαθαῖον 780.18.(252/1).

*Αγαπαῖος 1632.186.(323/2).

(3) *Αλκαῖος 495.10.(303/2) - 1534.A.113.(292/1.π).

*Ανταῖος 2332.217.(183/2).

Γαῖος	H.IX.122.25.51.(165-150.π).
Γηραιός	1b.49.
(4) ἑκαταῖος	H.XI.290.56.73.(247/6) - 2323.158.(c.184/3).
ἑστιάτος	1938.61.(152/1).
Εἰκταῖος	790.6.(235/4).
Θῆραιον	776.17.(p.254/3.).
Ἱμεραῖον	2797.B.11.(290/89).
Κιλλαῖος	S.XVI.91.114.(173/2).
Μουσαῖος	1956.97.(c.300.π).
(2) Περσαῖον	901.8.(c.185/4); H.XXX.12.8.9.(p.179.s.).
(4) Πτολεμαῖος	687.16.(265/4) - S.XVI.91.126.(173/2).
Τιμαῖος	H.XXIX.11.14.30.(p.245.s.).
Θυρταῖος	H.III.31.21.72.(155/4).
Χαριταῖος	H.XVII.40.28.3.(in.s.ii.π).
(2) ἀρχαῖος	1487.31.(f.s.iv.π); 983.6.(m.s.ii.π).
(3) Ἀχαιοός	1957.4.(in.s.iii.π); 2314.17 and 27.(p.191.π).
βέβατον	H.XIII.246.9.5.(c.246.π).
(2) Ἐρυθραῖος	2314.29.(p.191.π); 2313.38.(190/89.π).
(3) Ζευρυναῖος	2314.19 and 25.(p.191.π); 2313.30.(190/89.π).
(2) Θηβαῖος	3083.4 and 5.(271/0).
(8) κεφάλαιον	1631.340.(323/2) - H.XVI.165.64.45.(161/0).
Κορκυραῖος	2316.9.(c.166/5.π).
Κυμαῖος	2315.16.(p.180.π).
παλαιδν	1587.20.(f.s.iv.π).
Ῥωμαῖος	1938.61.(152/1).
Ταναγραῖος	2332.167.(183/2).

- (8) *Αφιόνατος 1678.a.32.(a.315.h.) - 900.22.(c.185/4).
 (5) Είτεατον 1631.250.(323/2) - H.S.I.89.40.55.(203/2).
 (7) Οίνατος H.XVII.3.3.8.(244/3) - 953.5.(160/59).

Εύβατονος 1534.B.226.(247/6).

Παίονα 654.37.(285/4);

cf. Παιδώνων ib.12.

and (3) Παιονίδ - 794.7.(216/5) - 918.26.(p.179.s.).

U:- 24 exx., iota retained:

(4) Δικαιοσύνης 1163.18.(284/3) - S.XV.113.23.(215/4).

Αγαθατος 2355.3.(s.iii.?)

Αργατος 1286.25.(c.250/49.).

(3) Είρηνατος 2358.4,5 and 84.(c.150.*).

*Ερματος 1327.4.(178/7).

Εύκτατος 1955.20.(c.320.*).

Μουσατον 2942.2.(s.iii.*).

Περσατος 3851.6.(in.s.iii.*).

*Αχαιός 1299.117.(pp.236/5).

Ελαιον S.XV.112.7.(225/4).

Κυρηνατον 2942.3.(s.iii.*).

σπουδατος 1231.13.(f.s.iv.*).

συνβόλαιον 1241.51.(300/299).

τελευτατον 1168.8.(s.iii.?*)

*Αφίγνατος * 3852.5.(in.s.iii.*).

(3) Είτεατον S.XV.112.37.(225/4) - 1322.31.(p.179.s.).

Οίνατος 1322.30.(p.179.s.).

*(* for 'Αφίγνατος = 'Αφιδ-, see PH.II.B.3.a.(i).).

P:- 37 exx., iota retained:

(3) Δικαιογένης 6569.1,5 and 10.(f.s.iv.κ);

cf. Δικαιομένου 6141.(s.ii.κ).

'Εστιαίδεν ib.

*Αξιατος 5588.(s.ii.κ).

Γεννατος 8605.(s.iii.κ).

*Εχαιτατος * 10,512.(p.197.s.).

*Ερματος 10,081.(s.iii/ii.κ).

Κωματατος 6625.(s.iii/ii.κ).

(3) Μουσατος 7232.(f.s.iv.κ) - 9132.(p.260.s.).

Παγγατον 8920.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

Πετρατος 10,155.(c.s.ii.κ).

Πτολεματος 8273.(p.179.s.).

(* for 'Εχαιτ-, see A.1.a.(ii) above.).

(3) *Αχαιος 8404.(in.s.iii.κ) - 8589.(s.ii.κ).

*Ερυθρατος 10,081.(s.iii/ii.κ).

*Εστιατος 6221.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

Θηβατος 8858.(f.s.iv.κ).

Κοθατος 9046.(s.iii.κ).

Κυρηνατος S.XII.192.(s.iii.κ).

Λαρισατος 9201.(s.iii.κ).

Λικαρατος 9214.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

*Ρωματος 10,155.(c.s.ii.κ).

(3) *Αφιδνατος 5741.(p.f.s.iv.κ) - 5747.(c.s.iii.κ).

- (3) Ηίτατος 6000.(p.f.s.iv.π) - 6005.(p.197.s.).
 (2) Οίνατος 6974.(s.iii.π); 6975.(c.s.iii/ii.π).
 Παίονος 6855.(s.iii/ii.π);
 cf. Παιδόνισσα 10,040.(s.ii.π).

(vi) αίου :

Si:- 32 exx., iota retained:

- (3) *Ελαίουσιος 844.34.(193/2) - H.IX.122.25.69.
 (165-150.π).

*Αγαθαίου 784.8.(240/39).

*Αλκαίου 1631.211.(323/2).

(7) *Αχαιοῦ 946.1.(166/5) - 957.90.(157/6).

(3) Δικαίου 896.15.(186/5) - H.S.I.109.53.15.(c.186.π).

Εὐκταίου 956.66.(161/0).

*Ηραί[ο]υ 495.10-11.(303/2).

Θεαίου 770.4.(262/1).

*Ισαίου 656.2.(284/3).

(6) Πτολεμαίου 687.22.(265/4) - 897.10.(185/4).

(2) ἔλαιου 1552.4.(in.s.iii.π); 903.10.(c.176/5).

*Ρωμαίου 958.29.(154/3).

(3) Οίναίου 1539.4,7 and 12.(215/4).

βεβαίους H.V.422.15.18.(196/5).

U:- 4 exx., iota retained:

(2) *Ελαίουσιος 1955.17.(c.320.π); 1325.12.(185/4).

Εὐκταίου 1955.5.(c.320.π).

*Ισαίο [v 1163.4.(284/3).

P:- 30 exx., iota retained:

*Βλαίουσιος 6018.a.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

*Αδαίου 7112.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

Αίσχραίου 4604.(f.s.iv.κ).

*Αρναίου 7616.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

Βεβαίου 6993.(s.iii/ii.κ).

Γαίου 11,549.(s.ii.κ).

Διθαίου 6842.(s.iii.κ).

*Πρμαίου 7966.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

Εδφραίου 6502.(s.iii.κ).

Κωμαίου 6623.(in.s.iii.κ).

Πολεμαίου ^κ 7930.(p.197.s.).

Τιμαίου 7108.(s.iii.κ).

Φιλαίου 6941.(f.s.iv.κ).

Χαριταίου 5505.(s.iii.κ).

(κ for Πτο- > Πο-, see PH.II.A.3.c.(ii) above.).

(2) *Εστιαίου 7524.(p.f.s.iv.κ); 6108.(s.iii/ii.κ).

Κυρηναίου 9131.(s.iii.κ).

Ταναγραίου 8374.(s.ii.κ).

(8) *Αφιδναίου 6569.9.(f.s.iv.κ) - 5748.(c.s.ii.κ).

(2) Είτσαίου 6009.(p.221.s.); 9152.(s.iii.κ).

(2) Οίναίου 10,206.(p.197.s.); 6976.(s.ii.κ).

(vii) αιω :

S:- 24 exx., iota retained:

*Αχαιῶν	687.24.(265/4).
ἐπιτοναίων	1682.25.(285/4).
*Ερμαίων	895.5.(c.188/7).
θηβαίων	860.5.(f.s.iii.π).
καλαμαίων	949.9.(165/4).
λυκαίων	993.3.(p.245.σ.).
Πτολεμαίων	H.VI.450.3.11.(b.224-196.h.).

(3) Αἰῶν 2413.18.(f.s.iv.π) - H.III.31.21.49.(155/4).

*Εκατομβαιῶνος 1b.74.29.3.(228/7).

(4) Εὐπεταίων 674.4.(273/2). - H.XXX.226.24.6.(in.s.ii.π).

(8) δικαίως 649.34.(294/3) - 931.6.(p.245.σ.).

Παιωνίου 2313.54.(190/89.π).

U:- 1 ex. of omission: ἐλαῶν 1211.B.3.(s.iii.π): the form without iota is the usual one⁽¹⁾; cf. (1) above.

14 exx. of -αιω :

ἀρχαίων H.XI.295.58.9.(152/1).

(2) Ῥωμαίων 1224.b.7.(p.245.σ.); 1330.11.(p.163.π).

(5) *Εκατομβαιῶνι 2498.14.(321/0) - 1282.2.(261/0).

(3) Εὐπεταίων 3055.1.(320/19) - 2857.1.(220/19).

δικαίως 1163.12.(284/3).

P:- 3 exx., iota retained:

Εὐπεταίων 6941.(f.s.iv.π).

*Ερμαιῶνδας 13,318.(p.245.σ.).

(1) see Meisterhans, op.cit., p.31, note 158.

Μαιώτης 9252.(c.s.ii.π).

Summary of Diphthong αι.

S:- the iota is omitted in the following instances:

- (1) Ἀνακαῶς
- (3) Πειραεῖ
- (4) Πτολεμαῖδος
- (2) Θηγαῖα

But cf. (6) Πειραεῖ ; (12) Πτολεμαῖδος ; (4) Θηγαῖα.

U:- omitted in:

- (1) ἑλαῶν
- (1) Πειραῖας
- (2) Πειραεὺς
- (1) Πειραῖων

But cf. (2) Πειραιᾶ ; (7) Πειραιεὺς ; (6) Πειραιῶν.

P:- omitted in:

- (1) Ἀθηναῖς
- (1) Ἀλαεὺς
- (2) Ἑρμαῖς
- (1) Ἑρμαῖσκος
- (1) Πειραεὺς
- (3) Πλαταικῇ
- (2) Θηγαῖως

But cf. (5) Ἀθηναῖς ; (7) Ἀλαεὺς ; (1) Ἑρμαῖσκου ;
(5) Πειραιεὺς ; (2) Πλαταικῇ .

Therefore omission was not very common. When it does occur, it is almost always before ε, otherwise before ι, and once before ω .

N.B.1. For $\Pi\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha(\iota)\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$; see a.(ii), (iii), (iv) and (v).

2. Verse Inscr.: there are very few exx. of $\phi\iota$ Vowel in the verse inscr. in my period, and no exx. of omission.

2. Diphthong $\epsilon\iota$.

a) Combinations of 4 Vowels.

(i) $\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$:

S:- 10 exx., ι ota retained:

'Ακ] αδηµεῖαι H.XXX.16.9.4.(p.197.s.).

(6) ὕγνεῖαι 456.b.3.(307/6) - 949.15.(165/4).

(3) τελεῖαι 2314.53.(p.191.π) - 2316.42.(c.166/5.π).

U:- 2 exx., ι ota retained:

ἱερεῖαι 1328.6.(183/2); but cf. ἱερῆαις 1329.16.

(175/4): see A.2.b.(i) above; and cf. b.(i) U and P below.

πολιτεῖαι 1236.1.(a.m.s.ii.π).

P:- 5 exx., ι ota retained:

'Αλεξανδρεῖαι 3779.20.(m.s.iii.π).

Ἡλυθεῖαι 4669.(s.iv/iii.π);

cf. 'Ιλυθεῖαι π S.XVIII.88.2.(c.180.π).

(2) Λεβαδεῖαι 3147.5 bis.(p.179.s.).

(π for the various forms of the name of this goddess, see A.1.d.(i)n.b.4 above.)

(ii) $\epsilon\iota\phi\alpha(\epsilon\iota\phi)$:

S:- 2 exx. of omission: Τρινεµεῖα S.XVI.91.59 and 137.(173/2).

1 ex. of $\epsilon\iota\phi$: Τρινεµεῖα π 678.9.(256/5).

(π for $-\delta\alpha>\tilde{\alpha}$, see A.3.a. above.)

U and P:- none.

(iii) ελεϋ :

S:- 14 exx. of omission:

(4) Δεκελευς H.IV.35.5.3.(318/7) - 1938.53.(152/1).

(7) Διομελευς 458.3.(307/6) - 503.8.(302/1).

(2) Πλωθελευς 499.3.(302/1.gr.) - 503.3.(302/1).

Τρινεμελευς 2332.176.(183/2).

2 exx. of - ελεϋ:

(2) Διομελεϋς 3073.5.(307/6); 464.4.(307/6.gr.).

N.B. For εευ>ευ, see A.3.c. above.

U:- 2 exx., both of omission:

*Ερικεϋς 1323.4.(197/6).

Τρινεμεϋς 3472.2.(200-150.π).

P:- 3 exx., all of omission:

Δεκελευς 5985.(p.221.σ.).

(2) Πρινεμεϋς 7570.(p.f.σ.iv.π); 7572.(p.f.σ.iv.π).

(iv) ετεω :

S:- 1 ex., of omission: Δεκελεῶς 1487.84.(306/5).

U and P: none.

N.B. Unlike the demotics in $-\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$, those in $-\epsilon\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ generally tend to drop the intervocalic iota in my period. But in the years of the 4th. century preceding 323 BC. the vast majority of demotics both in $-\alpha\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ and $-\epsilon\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$ retain the iota. See also below for demotics in $-\omicron\iota\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$.

(v) ειολ :

S:- 8 exx., iota retained:

*Αργεῖοι 1956.106.(c.300.π).

*Αρ|παλεῖοις 1631.170-171.(323/2).

*Πλεῖοις 687.38.(265/4).

(2) Κοπρεῖοι H.S.I.120.64.105.(178/7); H.IX.122.25.74.
(165-150.π).

οἰκεῖοι 471.14.(306/5);

cf. οἰκεῖοις 1631.394.(323/2).

Χαλκεῖοις 930.3.(p.245.σ.).

U:- 1 ex. of omission: Μεσοῦγεοι 1247.15.(m.s.iii.π);

of b (v) below.

2 exx. of -εῖοι :

Μεσογείοις 1247.10.(m.s.iii.π).

*Ολυμπιεῖοι|ς H.IX.111.21.2-3.(in.s.iii.π).

P:- none.

(vi) εῖωι :

S:- 13 exx., iota retained:

*Αρεῖωι 1631.514.(323/2).

*Αρπαλεῖωι ib.174.

(5) *Ασκληπιδεῖωι 483.31.(304/3) - 1539.3.(215/4).

ἱππαρχεῖωι 895.6.(c.188/7).

(4) τελεῖωι 2314.51 and 55.(p.191.π) - 2313.55 and 61.
(190/89.π).

Φιλοικεῖωι 2323.155.(c.184/3).

U:- 2 exx. of omission:

(2) Ἡρακλέωι 1247.15.(m.s.iii.π); 1248.8.(300-250.π).

4 exx. of -ειωι :

Ἀσκληπιεῖωι 1163.25.(284/3).

Εὐρυσαχέωι 1232.22.(f.s.iv.π).

Παιδεῖωι 2979.4.(s.iii.π).

ταμιεῖωι 2501.12.(f.s.iv.π).

Pi- 2 exx., iota retained:

κρυτανεῖωι 7598.(p.m.s.iii.π).

Τ]ελεῖωι H.XV.221.47.(c.200.π).

b) Combinations of 3 Vowels.

(i) ε ι α :

S:- N.B. 1. I have excluded κρυτανεῖα from the following lists because there is only 1 instance of omission out of scores of occurrences of the word in decrees viz:

κρυτανέας 373.17.(322/1).

There are 68 exx. of κρυτανεῖ- down to the end of the 4th. century alone. cf. κρυτανεῖον : see (iii) below.

2. For γεγονυῖα?γεγονεῖα, see MO.II.A.3. and cf. (v) below, and 4.a.(i), 4.b.(i) below.

For the rest:

1 ex. of omission: ἐπιμελέας 483.24.(304/3).

But cf. (4+) ἐπιμελεῖ- 373.29.(322/1) - 551.5.(a.309/8.h.).

94 other exx. of -ε ι α

—κλεια :

Ἀμεινοκλείας 2332.100.(183/2).

[Ἀρ]ιστόκλεια 1534.A.72.(292/1.π).

Διοκλείας	1534.B.245.(247/6).
Εὐκλεία	1b.239.
(2) Ἱεροκλείας	1b.210;.2332.347.(183/2).
Νι[χο]κλείας	1534.b.250.(247/6).
Πατρόκλεια	1b.248.
Φιλοκλείας	1b.231.
—κράτεια :	
Εὐκράτεια	2313.13.(190/89.π).
Ξενοκράτεια	1469.162.(320/19).
Πολυκρατείας	1534.B.270.(247/6).
*Αν]τιοχεῖαν	785.12-13.(196/5).
(3) Ἀργεία	2314.48, 50 and 54.(p.191.π).
(2) Ἀχιλλεία	1631.139 and 166.(323/2).
Βοηθείας	1b.445.
(6) Ἥδεια-	1632.336.(323/2) - 1534.B.200.(247/6).
Καλλισθενείας	1b.204.
Μένεια	1537.23.(p.245.σ.).
*Θαίει[ς	1631.558.(323/2).
(2) Ἀσφαλεία-	652.13.(c.286/5); 682.13.(c.256/5).
εὐμενείας	H.V.422.15.29.(196/5).
(13) εὐσεβεία-	661.28.(267/6) - 896.16.(186/5).
ἐφεδρείας	S.XIV.64.15.(271/0).
Θείας	H.XVI.165.64.11.(161/0).
(6) Ἱερεῖα-	659.1.(283/2) - 863.11.(f.s.111.π).
(2) Λεία-	1534.A.99.(292/1.π); H.XVI.165.64.50.(161/0).
(2) μαντεῖαν	1933.3.(f.s.iv.π); 1934.4.(f.s.iv.π).

- μνεσαν 774.b.12.(c.250/49.h.).
 ὀβελας 1631.409.(323/2).
 παιδελας 886.9.(193/2.gr.).
 (6) πολιτεία- H.IX.345.44.2.(319/8).- 646.49.(295/4.π).
 (4) πρεσβεία- 653.21.(285/4) - H.V.422.15.22.(196/5).
 στ]ρατελας 545.14.(p.318/7.h.).
 συγγένειαν 885.17.(c.200.h.).
 συνέ/χειαν H.V.422.15.26-27.(196/5).
 ταμιασαν 1b.14.
 (9) χρεία- 584.16.(f.s.iv.π) - H.IV.525.39.25.(226/5).
 (2) ἀντιγόνεια 1534.B.266 and 272.(247/6).
 ἀρχεῖα^π 687.45.(265/4).
 ἀσπίδεια 1469.71.(320/19).
 Βασίλεια H.IV.562.40.10.(281/0).
 κηρύκεια H.XVI.157.51.f.47.(c.250.π).
 νεῖα(νῆια) 1631.231.(323/2).
 σκαφεῖα 1b.409.
 (2) τοπεῖα 1b. 262 and 276.
 (2) χαλκεῖα H.S.I.38.4.7.(in.s.iii.π); 674.16.(273/2).
 (π for ἀρχαῖος > ἀρχεῖος , see A.2.a.(ii) above.)

U:- 8 exx. of omission:

- ἱέρεια Φειδοστράτη 3459.1.(in.s.iii.π).
 τῆς ἱερέας 1328.33.(175/4).

But cf. (11) ἱερεῖα- 3109.2 and 3.(in.s.iii.π) - 3473.10.

(p.179.s.).

(6) ἡμίσεαν 2498.13, 14, 19 and 21.(321/0); 2499.21.(306/5);

H.XI.283.55.19.(p.260,s.).

But cf. (2) ἡμίσειαν 1241.22 and 26.(300/299).

37 other exx. of -εῖα :

———κλεια :

Δημόκληα 2358.33.(c.150.π).

*Ἐρίκεια 2362.24.(200.π).

*Ἡδεῖα 1297.33.(237/6).

Θηβαγένεια 2358.36.(c.150.π).

(4) Κράτεια 1315.5, 20, 30 and 32.(211/10).

Νεμεῖας 2354.5.(f.s.iii.π).

(3) Δοφάλειαν 1299.58.(pp.236/5) - S.XV.113.7.(215/4).

(2) Δτέλειαν 1204.12.(f.s.iv.π); S.XV.112.26.(225/4).

Ἐπιμελεῖας 1278.7.(273/2).

(2) μαντεῖαν 1283.6.(263/2); 1326.18.(176/5).

(2) ταμεια- 1271.10.(299/8.π); 1326.37.(176/5).

τοξεῖας 1285.25.(c.251/0).

(2) ὀγχεῖας H.III.44.33.3.(in.s.iii.π); S.XV.112.10.(225/4).

χρεῖας 1304.b.6.(269/8).

*Ἀττίδεια 1315.10.(211/10).

(2) τὰ πρωτανεῖα 2864.2 and 4.(162/1).

σιτοβολεῖα 1281.4.(c.266.h.).

N.B. For θερ/απῆας 1329.8-9.(175/4).

and εδοσεβῆας 1b.25.

see A.2.b.(i) above, and cf. a (i) above; see also
P beneath.

P:- 6 exx. of omission:

Δρομόκλεια	6278.(p.221.s.).
Διόκλεια	6459.(p.197.s.).
*Ηρόκλεια	10,392.(s.iii.π).
*Ηρακλέας	8696.(in.s.iii.π).
*Ιερόκλεια	9679.(s.ii.π).

But cf. 17 exx. of κλεια :

*Αγαθοκλεια	8101.(p.317/6.π).
*Αμεινοκλεια	10,638.(f.s.iv.π).
*Αντίκλεια	5587.(s.iii/ii.π).
[*Α]ριστοκλεια	9052.(in.s.ii.π).
Δεξικλεια	7263.(p.a.317.π).
(3)Εδοκλεια	11,409.(s.iv/iii.π) - 5743.(s.iii.π).
(2)*Ηρόκλεια	7822.(p.317/6.π); 8768.(p.f.s.iv.π).
Θεδοκλεια	9155.(p.197.s.).
*Ιπποκλεια	4666.1.(s.iv/iii.π).
Μηροκλεια	11,561/2.(s.ii.π).
Πενδοκλεια	H.XXX.281.147.(p.197.s.).
Θανδοκλεια	12,869.(s.iii.π).
(2)Φιλοκλεια	10,016.(p.f.s.iv.π); 5912.(s.iii.π).
*Η<ο>ξα	11,572.(s.iii/ii.π).

But cf. (6)*Ηδοξα 9117.(p.f.s.iv.π) - 8427.(p.179.s.).

23 other exx. of κεια :

———κράτεια :

*Αμεινοκράτεια	10,640.(s.iv/iii.π).
*Αμφικράτεια	6210.a.(s.iii.π).

(2) *Αριστοκρατία	7018.(f.s.iii.?.κ); 7474.(p.179.s.).
Κράτεια	8441.(p.f.s.iv.κ).
Πεισικράτεια	6437.(p.317/6.κ).
(3) Σωσικράτεια	10,097.(s.iii/ii.κ) - 7935.(s.ii.κ).
Τιμοκρατία	12,793.(p.f.s.iv.κ).
Φιλοκρατία	5447.(s.iii/ii.κ).

(3) *Αργεία * 8365.(p.f.s.iv.κ) - 8374.(s.ii.κ).

Γαλάτεια 8860.(s.ii.κ).

*Επιμέλεια 9148.(p.179.s.).

Εὐγένεια * 11,372.(s.ii.κ).

(2) *Πλεία 8527.(p.f.s.iv.κ); 8531.(s.ii.κ).

Θάλεια 8680.(s.ii.κ).

Καλλισοθένεια 11,789.(s.iii.κ).

(2) Κεία 9007.(p.f.s.iv.κ); 9004.a.(s.iii.κ).

(* for *Αργήα 8361.a.(s.ii.κ)

and Εἰσιγένεια 10,371.(p.179.s.)

see A.2.b.(i) above, and cf. a.(i) above; see also

U immediately preceding.)

(11) εἰεί :

S:- 2 exx., both of omission:

Δεκεσεῖς H.IX.122.25.17.(165-150.κ).

Τρινημεσεῖς H.XXX.220.17.22.(p.245.s.).

U and P: none.

(iii) ειο :

N.B. 1. For $\pi\lambda\epsilon(\iota)\omega\nu$, $\pi\lambda\epsilon(\iota)\omega\nu$ - and $\pi\lambda\epsilon(\iota)\omega\varsigma$, see (vi) below.

2. $\kappa\rho\upsilon\tau\alpha\nu\epsilon\iota\omega\nu$, never loses the iota in any case and is therefore excluded from the following lists.

S:- 52 exx., iota retained:

(3) * $\text{Αργε}\iota\omega$ - 3078.4.(in.s.iii.π) - 686.12.(c.265/4.).

(7) * $\text{Ερμει}\omega$ - 493.12.(303/2) - 1938.41.(152/1).

(2) * $\text{Ηλ}\epsilon\iota\omega$ - 1632.144.(323/2); 686.12.(c.265/4).

(3) * $\text{Ηρ}\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ S.XIV.70.2.(c.178/7.π) - 957.43.(157/6).

(6) $\text{Κ}\acute{\omicron}\pi\rho\epsilon\iota\omega$ - 545.3.(p.318/7.h.) - 1706.39.(213/2).

$\text{Μ}\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\omega\varsigma$ 498.b.11.(303/2.h.).

$\text{ἀντιγ}\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1534.B.231.(247/6).

(2) $\text{ἀρι}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota\omega$ 456.b.6.(307/6); 1480.12.(c.314/3.?-π).

(2) $\text{γοργ}\omega\nu\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1476.46.(315/4); 1491.20.(306/5).

$\text{θηρικ}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1534.B.267.(247/6).

$\text{θωρ}[\alpha]\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega$ 463.86.(307/6).

(4) $\text{μ}\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1485.49, 53, 55 and 59.(307/6).

$\text{στυκ}\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1631.336.(323/2).

$\text{χερνιβ}\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1474.18.(318/7).

(2) $\text{ἀνδρ}\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1534.B.268 and 295.(247/6).

(7) $\text{γυναικ}\epsilon\iota\omega$ ib. 225, 232, 238, 268, 269, 289 and 292.

$\text{Διφ}\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1587.11.(f.s.iv.π).

$\text{λε}\iota\omega$ 1534.B.258.(247/6).

$\text{Λευ}[\chi]\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\epsilon\iota\omega$ 1588.13.(in.s.iii.π).

$\text{ο}\acute{\iota}\kappa\epsilon\iota\omega$ 659.17.(283/2);

cf. (4) οικειότητ- 456.b.15.(307/6) - 774.b.4.
(c.250/49.h.).

U:- 2 exx. of omission:

(2) τέλειον H.XI.283.55.15 and 16.(p.260.s.).

12 exx. of -ειο :

οικειότη|ος 1275.5.6.(300-250.π).

*Αργεῖος 1299.106.(pp.236/5.).

*Ερμειος 1322.34.(p.179.s.).

θεῖος 3470.5.(p.221.s.).

κεῖος 1958.15.(p.m.s.iii.π).

κόπρειος 1299.84.(pp.236/5.).

γραμματεῖον 2501.21.(f.s.iv.π).

(2) οησεῖον 2498.3 and 16.(321/0).

(2) ιερεῖον H.XI.283.55.15. and 16.(p.260.s.).

μ]αγειρεῖον 1301.5.(220/19).

Pi:- 13 exx., iota retained:

(3) *Αργεῖος 8370.(c.f.s.iv.π) - 8371.(s.ii.π).

(5) *Ερμειος 6082.(f.s.iv.π) - 6083.(f.s.iii.π).

*Ηλεῖος H.XVII.48.44.(s.iii.π).

(3) κόπρειος S.XVII.178.2.(ter).(s.iii/ii.π).

Τίβρειος 9046.(s.iii.π).

(iv) εἰοῦ :

Si:- 1 ex. of omission:

*Λ]ρέου κα[γου 480.23.(c.305/4)

But cf. (3) *Αρεῖον 479.7.(c.305/4) - 956.52.(161/0).

For Ἄρεσκαγῆται > Ἄρεσ- , see A.3.f.(iii) above.

7 other exx. of -εῖου :

*Ἀργεῖου 956.50.(161/0).

β]ορεῖου 463.120.(307/6).

Λυκεῖου 956.67.(161/0).

Η[ου]εῖου 665.12.(266/5).

(2) [δ]γενεῖου 2314.(p.191.π); 2313.33.(190/89.π).

οἰκεῖου 448.73.(318/7).

U:- 2 exx., iota retained:

*Ἐρκεῖου 4983.1.(s.iii.π).

Θησεῖου 2498.10.(321/0).

P:- 7 exx., iota retained:

(4) Ἐρμεῖου 6078.(p.221.s.) - 6085.(s.ii.π).

Κεῖου 9008.(s.iii.π).

(2) Κοκρεῖου 6540.(a.m.s.iii.π); S.XII.178.6.(s.iii/ii.π).

(v) εῖω :

S:- 10 exx., iota retained:

(2) Ἀργεῖων 774.b.8 and 15.(c.250/49.h.)-.

*Ἡλεῖων 687.23.(265/4).

(2) Θησεῖων 956.43.(161/0); 957.25.(157/6).

νεῖων (= νήων) 1631.233.(323/2).

(2) οἰκεῖων 1b. 383 and 397.

Ἰερειῶν 949.10.(165/4).

πλατεῖω [ν] 380.19.(320/19).

of also: ἐμ πίστε ὦν 646.11.(295/4.π), and see

A.2.b.(vi) above.

U:- Note the following ex. of the intervocalic iota omitted in the Perfect Participle Feminine of γίγνομαι :

γεγονεῶν 1328.17.(183/2)

and cf. MO.II.A.3.

1 other ex. of omission:

Μεσογέων 1247.5.(m.s.iii.π) cf. a.(v) above.

But cf. (2) Μεσογεῶν 1245.2 and 10.(249/8).

3 other exx. of -σιω :

οἰκεῖω 1283.9.(263/2).

(2) ἱερειῶν 1298.13.(247/6); 1314.11.(213/2).

P:- these are all exx. of Ἡρακλε(ι)ώτης or Ἡρακλε(ι)ῶτις :

45 exx. of Ἡρακλεώτης : 8706.(p.f.s.iv.π) - 8791.(s.ii.π).

1 ex. of Ἡρακλειώτης : 4280.1.(f.s.iii.π/in.s.ii.π).

35 exx. of Ἡρακλεῶτις : 8639.(p.f.s.iv.π) - 8697.(s.ii.π).

2 exx. of Ἡρακλειῶτις : 8808.(s.ii.π); 8802.(in.s.ii.π).

N.B. For Ἡρακληῶτις, see A.2.b.(i) above.

(vi)πλε(ι)ων etc.:

a) the iota is never omitted before -ω : e.g.

πλεῖω H.IX.68.9.108.(307/6).

2498.21.U.(321/0); 1323.8.U.(197/6); 1325.20.U.(185/4);

1328.5.U.(183/2); 1327.5.U.(178/7).

πλεῖων 2498.22.U.(321/0).

b) the iota is never omitted before -ου : e.g.

πλεῖους 657.25.(283/2); 891.8.(188/7.gr.).
1165.5.U.(300-250.μ).

c) before - ο

S:- 6 exx. of omission:

(4) πλεῖον 463.55.(307/6 - 884.19.(c.200.h.).

πλεῖονος 1631.359.(323/2).

πλεόνων 463.48.(307/6).

and only 1 ex. of the iota retained viz.

πλεῖο[νες 888.8.(180/79).

U:- 9 exx. of omission:

(2) πλεῖον 1293.8.(m.s.iii.μ); H.XI.283.55.17.(p.260.s.).

(7) πλεονόμις 1292.5.(pp.216/5) -1329.9.(175/4).

and only 3 exx. of the iota retained viz.

π|λεῖονος 1165.23.(300-250.μ).

[π]λεονόνων H.XI.295.58.18.(152/1).

[πλ]εονόμις H.XXX.227.26.9.(257/6).

N.B. 1. The form is always πλεῖον .

2. In c) the occurrence of the intervocalic iota appears to be a later phenomenon. The evidence for the period after 146 BC. shows that, except in πλεονόμις , the iota does appear before omicron.

Summary of Diphthong Et .

S:- the iota is omitted in the following instances:

(1) Ἀρέου πάγου

(1) Δεκελεεῖς

(4) Δεκελεεὺς

(1) Δεκελεέως

(7) Διομεεὺς

(1) Ἐπιμελέας

(2) Πλωθεεὺς

(1) Πρυτανέας

(2) Τρινεμεδα

(1) Τρινεμεεῖς

(1) Τρινεμεεὺς

But cf. (3) Ἀρείου ; (2) Διομεεὺς ; (4) Ἐπιμελεια- ;

(68+) Πρυτανείας ; (1) Τρινεμειδ.

U:- omitted in:

(1) Ἐρικεεὺς

(6) ἡμίσεαν

(2) Ἡρακλέωι

(2) ἱερεα-

(1) Μεσόγεοι

(1) Μεσογέων

(2) τέλεον

(1) Τρινεμεεὺς

But cf. (2) ἡμίσειαν ; (11) ἱερεία- ; (1) Μεσογεῖοις ;

(2) Μεσογεῖων .

Pi- omitted in:

(1) Δεκελειεύς

(1) Δρομόκλεα

(1) Διδόκλεα

(1) Ἡδῆα

(2) Ἡράκλεα

(45) Ἡρακλειώτης

(35) Ἡρακλειώτις

(1) Ἰερδοκλεα

(2) Τρινεμεεύς

But cf. (6) Ἡδεῖα ; (2) Ἡράκλεια ; (1) Ἡρακλειώτης ;

(2) Ἡρακλειώτις .

3. Diphthong οι.

a) Combinations of 4 Vowels.

(i) οιαι :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

δμονοζαι H.V.422.15.16.(196/5).

U and P:- none.

(ii) οιαιυ :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

τοιαυτης H.V.422.15.39.(196/5).

U and P:- none.

(iii) οιαια :

S:- none.

U:- 2 exx., both of omission.

(2) Λευκονοα 1299.24 and 34.(pp.236/5).

P:- none.

(iv) οιαιε :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

ποι [ε][ε̃] 400.12-13.(c.320/19.h.).

U:- 3 exx., all of omission:

(3) ποετ 2499.32.(306/5); 1192.4.(f.s.iv.π); 1214.
4-5.(300-250.π).

P:- none.

(v) ολεω :

S:- 3 exx., all of omission:

- (3) Δευκονοεός 1492.127.(305/4); II.VIII.110.20.7.(258/7).
1938.34.(152/1).

U:- 1 ex., iota retained:

- Δευκονοεός 1299.82.(pp.236/5).

P:- 11 exx. of omission:

- (11) Δευκονοεός 6729.(f.s.iv.π/ln.s.iii.π) - 6742.(s.ii.7.π).

2 exx. of -ολεω :

- (2) Δευκονοεός 6746.(f.s.iv.π) - 4414.3.(f.s.iv.π).

(vi) ολεω :

S and U:- none.

P:- 2 exx. of omission:

- (2) Δευκονοεός 5434.(s.iii.π); 9975.(m.s.ii.π).

1 ex. of -ολεω :

- Δευκονοεός 6739.(s.iii.π).

(vii) οτοτ :

S:- 6 exx., iota retained:

- τεροτοτ 148013.(c.314/3.7π);

- cf. τεροτοτς 678.14.(256/5).

- νσοτοτ 1678.a.20.(a.315.h.);

- cf. νσοτοτς 1b.16

- and νσοτοτς 1b.b.14.

- καιοτς 949.7.(165/4).

U:- 2 exx., iota retained:

(2) ἱεροποιοῖ 2859.1.(270/69); 1297.12.(237/6).

P:- none.

(viii) ολωι :

S:- none.

U:- 1 ex., iota retained

συντεροποι [ω] 1261.29.(301/300).

P:- none.

N.B. As with demotics in -ειεύς, λευκονοτεύς tends to drop the intervocalic iota during my period. In the period preceding 323 B.C. the earliest instances have the iota, although omission is taking place by the middle of the 4th. century. There is an instance of omission as early as I² 202.36.(443/2).

b) Combinations of 3 Vowels.

(i) οια :

S:- 35+ exx., iota retained:

(2) *Ἐποιᾶσαι H.S.I.120.64.103.(178/7); 1b.129.71.
87.(169/8);

cf. (2) *Ἐποιᾶσης 1632.2.(323/2); H.S.I.74.29.7.(228/7);

and *Ἐποιᾶσο| 1631.444.(323/2).

Ἐποιας 710.7.(b.295/4 - 256/5.π).

(21+) εὐνοια- 399.11.(c.320/19.h.) - 567.67.(f.s.iv.π).

Ἐπλοια 1632.296.(323/2)

(2) ὁμονοιας 687.31 and 35.(265/4);

- cf. ὀ[μ]όνοια 1632.36.(323/2).
 (2) Πρόνοια 1631.454 and 579.(323/2).
 (2) πλοῖα 682.11 and 12.(c.256/5).

U:- 7 exx., iota retained:

- εὐνοίας S.XV.111.12.(229/8.7π).
 ὁμοίας 1330.56.(p.163.π).
 (2) ὁμονοίας S.XV.112.10.(225/4); 4985.1.(p.221.s.).
 (3) πρόνοιαν 1225.9.(c.250.h.) - 1328.36.(175/4).

P:- 3 exx., iota retained:

- (2) ἑποιδᾶς 6094.(p.f.s.iv.π); 6091.(p.221.s.).
 ἑκατόμβοια 3779.14.(m.s.iii.π).

N.B. ὀιλοῖδους 8869.(s.iii.π), which may be an ex. of omission. For -ου > -ους, see MO.I.A.1.b.(i).

(ii) οἰε :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

- οἴεται 448.84.(318/7).

U and P:- none.

(iii) οἰεῖ :

S:- 1 ex. of omission:

- λευκονοεῖς 848.b.9.(222/1).

1 ex. of -οἰεῖ :

- πολεῖται 747.8.(in.s.iii.π).

U:- 4 exx. of omission:

ἐποεῖτο	1225.14.(c.250.h.).
(2) ποεῖν	2498.17.(321/0); 1234.4.(f.s.iv.π);
cf. ἱεροποεῖν	1263.39.(300/299).
1 ex. of -οιεῖ :	
ποιεῖσθαι	1299.39.(pp.236/5).

P:- none.

(iv) οιη :

S, U and P:- the table overleaf is designed to show the incidence of words with the root πο(ι)η- : e.g. ποιησις; ποιητής ; ποιησ- ; ἐποιησ- ; πεποιηκ- ; ποιήσασθαι ; ποιήσεσθαι ; ποιήσαμεν- ; πεποιήμεν- ; ἱεροποιησ- :-

ποιη		323-00			299-75			274-50		
	DC	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
	1	13	-	-	4	-	-	5	2	-
	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
	T	13	-	-	5	-	-	6	2	-
	a	3	4	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3 b	2	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ^{3p}
ποη	1	5	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-
	2	2	-	-	3	-	-	4	-	-
	T	7	-	-	5	1	-	4	-	-
	a	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	3 b	1	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-
	c	-	-	2 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-

249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
4	-	-	1	1	-	3	-	-	13	-	-
1	4	-	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
5	4	-	2	2	-	5	-	-	13	-	-
-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	-
-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	-	-
2 ⁶	2 ⁶	-	-	1 ⁵	-	-	2 ¹²	1 ¹⁰	1 ⁹	1 ^{9a}	1 ⁹
								11 ¹²			1 ^{9a}
											1 ¹¹
2	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-
-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	2	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	1 ⁵	2 ⁵	-	-	2 ¹²	-	-	2 ⁹

It appears that in S and U $\pi\omicron\tau\eta$ - was commoner than $\pi\omicron\eta$ - and probably also in P.

(v) οιι :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

$\tau\rho\iota\eta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ 1631.249.(323/2).

U and P:- none.

(vi) οιο :

S:- 14 exx., iota retained:

(2) $\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 672.24.(279/8.h.); 666.12.(266/5).

(11) $\alpha\lambda\delta\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$ 1534.A.107.(292/1.κ); 1b.B.200, 206, 209, 212, 217, 242(bis), 255, 257 and 286.(247/6).

$\omicron\mu\omicron\beta\omicron\delta\tau\omicron\nu$ 1682.28.(285/4).

U:- 6 exx., iota retained:

$\omicron\lambda\acute{o}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 1299.12.(pp.236/5);

cf. $\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ 1283.8.(263/2).

$\theta\omicron\rho\alpha\kappa\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\delta\varsigma$ 1261.3.(302/1).

(3) $\lambda\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\delta\varsigma$ 1b.28.(301/300) - 1b.45-46.(300/299).

P:- none.

(vii) οιού :

S:- 12 exx., iota retained:

(6) $\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ 1680.5.(f.s.iv.κ) - H.IV.525.39.22.(226/5);

cf. ποιοῦμενοι 844.69.(193/2)
 and ποιοῦντων 1678.a.20.(a.315.h.).
 ποιοῦτος S.XVI.94.14.(b.173/2 - 168/7.h.).

(3) οἶου H.S.I.74.29.3.(228/7) - 918.26.(p.179.s.).

U:- 15 exx., iota retained:

(5) ποιοῦμενος 1271.12.(299/8.π) - S.XV.111.5.(229/8.?π);
 cf. ποιοῦμενοι 1328.36.(175/4)
 and ποιοῦσιν 1275.11.(300-250.π).

ἱεροποιοῦ 3462.2.(f.s.iii.π).

οἶου S.XV.111.20.(229/8.?π).

(2) πλοῖου Ib.112.4 and 14.(225/4).

(4) ἱεροποιοῦς 1263.38.(300/299) - 1292.14.(pp.216/5).

P:- 4 exx., iota retained:

(4) οἶου 6987/8.(p1.317/6.π) - 6583.(s.ii.π).

(xiii) οἶω :

S:- 20 exx., iota retained:

(5) Εοιωτ-οἶ etc. 1956.179.(c.300.π) - 861.9.(p.245.s.);

cf. (2) Εοιωτλος 3079.3 and 4.(282/1).

(6) ποιῶν 463.39.(307/6) - 1685.A.5.(in.s.iii.π);

cf. ποιῶντα [ι] 659.10.(283/2).

(5) ὁμοῖως 1678.a.5.(a.315.h.) - H.XVI.165.64.
 16.(161/0);

cf. ὁμοῖων 687.14.(265/4).

U:- 9 exx., iota retained:

(2) ποιῶσι (ν) 1214.20.(300-250.π); 1165.34.(300-250.π);

cf. (2) ποιῶν 1272.7-8.(267/6); 1225.18.(c.250.h.).

ἄλλοις/ν 1304.b.14.(269/8).

τῶν ἱερο/ποιῶν S.XV.112.17-18.(225/4).

(3) ὁμοίως 1281.5.(c.266.h.) - S.XV.111.13.(229/8.? π).

P:- 3 exx., iota retained:

Βοιωτῖα 8416.(s.iii. π);

cf. Βοιωτικός 8414.(s.iii. π)

and Βοιωτοῦ 6831.(f.s.iv. π).

Summary of Diphthong oi .

S:- the iota is omitted in the following instances:

(1) Λευκονοεῖς

(3) Λευκονοεῦς

(23, i.e. T(otal) of DC 1+2)) ποιη-

But cf. (49) ποιη-

U:- omitted in:

(1) ἱεροποιεῖν

(2) Λευκονοέα

(1) ἐποιεῖτο

(3) ποεῖ

(2) ποεῖν

(3) ποιη-

But cf. (1) ποιεῖσθαι ; (8) ποιη-

P:- omitted in:

(11) Λευκονοεῦς

(2) Λευκονοέως

(14, i.e. BC 3) $\pi\alpha\eta-$

But cf. (2) $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$; (1) $\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\kappa\alpha\nu\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\varsigma$; (20) $\pi\alpha\iota\eta-$.

Therefore omission occurs before ϵ and η only.

N.B. 1. For $\pi\alpha(\iota)\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu$, see 3.a.(iv) and 3.b.(iii), (iv), (vii) and (viii); cf. also 3.b.(v) and (vi).

2. The iota in $\pi\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon-$ and $\pi\alpha\iota\omega-$ is never omitted. This is characteristic of all periods.

3. There are more exx. of $\pi\alpha\iota\eta-$ than $\pi\alpha\eta-$. This is true also of the period before 323 BC., and after 146 BC. the preponderance of $\pi\alpha\iota\eta-$ is even greater.

4. There is a tendency to write $\pi\alpha\epsilon-$ rather than $\pi\alpha\iota\epsilon-$. This is true also of the period before 323 BC., but after 146 BC. the iota is always retained.

4. Diphthong υτ .

a) Combinations of 4 Vowels.

(i) υταυ :

S:- 1 ex., of omission:

καταγαυαυ

1469.69.(320/19); cf. b.(1) below.

U:- none.

P:- 1 ex., of omission:

*λαστουαυ

4682.2.(s.iii.π);

For the various forms of this name, see A.1.d.(1) note 4 above.

(ii) υτολ :

S and U:- none.

P:- 2 exx., both of omission:

(2) οοτ

3856.2.(p.m.s.iii.π); 4031.4.(in.s.ii.π).

(iii) υτωλ :

S:- 1 ex., of omission:

ωωλ

844.65.(193/2).

U and P:- none.

b) Combinations of 3 Vowels.

(i) υτω :

S:- 1 ex., of omission:

καρσιληφω

1631.396.(323/2); cf. a.(1) above.

U and P: none.

(ii) vto :

S:- 5 exx., all of omission:

(3) vov 498.b.16.(303/2.h.) - 834.5.(pp.229.h.).

(2) vov 682.4.(c.256/5); 844.51.(193/2).

U:- none.

P:- 1 ex. of omission:

vov 3850.4.(in.s.iii.π).

1 ex. of vto :

vov 11,681.(p.f.s.iv.π).

(iii) vto :

S:- 27 exx., all of omission:

(27) vov H.VII.476.31.19.(319/8) - 2335.12.(m.s.ii.π).

U:- 2 exx., both of omission:

vov 4456.2.(p.179.s.);

vov 1236.3.(a.m.s.ii.π).

P:- none.

(iv) vto :

S:- 13 exx. of omission:

(13) vov 835.4.(pp.229.h.) - 2334.72.(m.s.ii.π).

1 ex. of vto :

vov 2332.325.(183/2).

U:- 2 exx., both of omission:

(2) vov 1326.31.(176/5); 1236.7.(a.m.s.ii.π).

P:- none.

Summary of Diphthong υι .

S:- the iota is omitted in the following instances:

(1) κατεαγῦαι

(1) παρειληφῦα

(3) ὅδν

(2) ὅδς

(27) ὅοῦ

(1) ὅδαι

(13) ὅδν

But cf. (1) υἱδν

U:- omitted in:

(1) ὅοῦ

(1) ὅοῦς

(2) ὅδν

P:- omitted in:

(1) ἰλαεῖθῦαι

(2) ὅοῖ

(1) ὅδν

But cf. (1) υἱδς

The tendency, therefore, seems to be for the iota to be dropped, although, apart from ὅδς , the instances of combinations with υι are very few.

N.B. υἱδν 2332.325.(183/2) and υἱδς 11,681.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ) are the only exx. with the iota retained. This is in accordance with the

periods both before 323 BC. and after 146 BC.

In Verse inscrr. there are 2 exx. of the noun, both with $\epsilon\iota$ -
viz. $\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ (= $\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\epsilon\alpha$) G.1466.1.P.(m.s.iii.π)

$\upsilon\tilde{\iota}\epsilon$ G.1459.1.P.(pp.300.π).

But in both of these cases the metre requires - υ .

5. Diphthong $\omega\iota$.

a) Combinations of 4 Vowels.

(i) $\omega\iota\omicron\iota$.

S:- 3 exx., iota retained:

$\epsilon\tilde{\omega}\iota\omicron\iota$ 1956.57.(c.300.π)

$\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\omega}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ 949.7.(165/4).

$\epsilon\pi\tilde{\omega}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ S.XVIII.27.11.(p.179.s.).

U:- 1 ex., iota retained:

$\epsilon\lambda\tilde{\omega}\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ 1299.9.(pp.236/5).

P:- none.

(ii) $\omega\iota\omega\iota$.

S:- none.

U:- 1 ex., iota retained:

$\epsilon\eta\pi\tilde{\rho}\tilde{\omega}\iota\omega\iota$ 1327.27.(178/7).

P:- none.

b) Combinations of 3 Vowels.

(i) $\omega\iota\eta$.

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

ὠλήθη

774.b.18.(c.250/49.h.).

U and P:- none.

(ii) ὠλο :

S:- 7 exx., iota retained:

κῶλος

2313.32.(190/89.κ).

(5) μητρῶλον

463.28.(307/6) - 958.17.(154/3).

προστῶλο [ν]

1680.1.(f.s.iv.κ).

U:- 2 exx., iota retained:

(2) προστῶλον

1271.5.(299/8.κ); 1322.6.(p.179.s.).

P:- 1 ex., iota retained:

κῶλος

9142.(s.iii.κ).

(iii) ὠλοῦ :

S:- 1 ex., iota retained:

Πατρῶλου

4984.1.(s.iii.κ).

U and P:- none.

(iv) ὠλω :

S:- none.

U:- 2 exx., iota retained:

(2) Ἀλῶλων

1299.29.(pp.236/5)z

1304.46.(pp.211/10).

P:- none.

Summary of Diphthong ωι .

The intervocalic iota in diphthong ωι is never omitted.

6. Intrusion of Intervocalic Iota.

a) α > αι.

S:- 1 ex. of αιελ viz. 551.6.(a.309/8.h.).

The latest ex. of αιελ is otherwise 116.12.(361/0).

U:- 4 exx. of αιελ : 1165.19 and 24.(300-250.π); 1277.29-30.(278/7);
1326.6.(176/5).

7 exx. of δαι : 2499.19.(306/5) - 1328.6.(183/2).

P:- none.

N.B. The etymology of δαι is αἰΐαι, the form found in Cyprian and Phocian inscrs. The use of the form αιελ in my period may, therefore, be mere pedantry.

b) ε > ει.

(1) ε > ει before α :

S:- τὸν βασιλεία 495.15.(303/2); 743.10.(in.s.iii.π); 654.
36.(285/4).

τὸν γραμματεία 530.3.(f.s.iv.π).

U:- τὸν γραμματεία 2943.16.(s.iii.π).

εἰδν * 1275.14.(in.s.iii.π).

Εὐκλεία 2976.13.(in.s.iii.π).

(* This may be pedantry again; cf. papyrus of Antiphon the Sophist:

τὰ οὖν νόμιμα παραβαίνων / εἰδὼν λάθῃ τοὺς
ὁμολογήσαντας κτλ. (1)

P:- none.

(ii) ε > ει before αυ :

S:- εἰαυτοῦς 999.3.(m.s.ii.κ).

U and P:- none

(iii) ε > ει before η :

S:- δεινται 463.43.(307/6).

προσδειη[ται 1b.48.

U and P:- none.

(iv) ε > ει before ο :

S and U:- none.

P:- @ειόδωρος S.XVIII.106.1.(in.s.iii.κ).

(v) ε > ει before ου :

S and U:- none.

P:- 'Ιεροκλέτους 4931.2.(in.s.ii.κ).

Ναυκκλέτος(=ους)* 9153.(s.iii.κ).

(* For ο written for ου, see OR.I.C.)

N.B. Intrusion before ο, ου and ω is particularly common in Private inscrr. in the 4th. century before 323 BC.

(1) see Diels, Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, vol.ii, page 346, Frag.

44 A. Col.2, lines 3 sqq.

(vi) ε > ει before ω :

S:- παρθειων 653.49.(285/4).

cf. παρειων ib.51.

But this latter ex. was the original form of the word, and so, although otherwise omitted in my period, this is a return of an original iota.

U:- τε [p]ει [ω]υνης 1316.8-9.(272/1).

οργειωνας 1284.9.(257/6).

P:- none.

c) ο > οι .(i) ο > οι before α :

S and U:- none.

P:- Οταθεν 7822.(p.317/6.π).

(ii) ο > οι before η :

S:- Εοιηδρομιωνος 848.a.2.(222/1); 657.3.(283/2).

οιηθεν 3207.7 and 16.(307/6.π).

ο]ινοχοιη 1480.5.(c.314/3.?.π).

cf. also ο]γδοιης 501.6.(302/1). This word was originally

ογδοφος : Buck notes: " the diphthongal spelling sometimes appears in words where it has no etymological justification." (1)

See also Schwyzer. (2)

(1) op.cit., page 32, section 31.

(2) Griechische Grammatik, vol.1, page 314.

U:- none.

P:- none. But cf. Boῦλῶν 6078.(p.221.s.). This may be an instance of "misplaced" intrusion. On the other hand, there is a tendency in the 1st century BC. for $\bar{\alpha}$, η and ω to be followed by an iota which has no justification, which may explain this form: see A.1.g.(ii) above.

E. Hiatus and Elision; Crasis.

1-3: Hiatus and Elision:

1. The 3 commonest words in this category are $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ and $\tau\epsilon$. I propose to deal with them first:

a) $(-)\delta\epsilon$: all the instances are divided between S and U:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
$(-)\delta\epsilon$	1	30	11	9	2	9	3	22	5	4	2	9	5	11	2
	2	2	-	1	-	4	-	2	8	-	-	2	-	4	-
	T	32	11	10	2	13	3	24	13	4	2	11	5	15	2
	a	10	-	2	5	3	1	1	3	1	-	1	-	-	2
	b	3	9	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	2	2	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	¹³	¹⁴	⁵⁶	¹⁶	¹⁵	-	¹¹⁰	⁵¹²	²⁹	-
										¹⁸				¹¹¹	
$(-)\delta'$	1	21	3	1	1	2	1	3	1	-	-	1	3	-	-
	2	2	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	1	-
	T	23	3	3	1	2	1	6	1	-	1	2	3	1	-
	a	-	-	6	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	b	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	¹³	-	-	-	-	-	¹¹²	-	-

This table gives the overall picture, but I think it is also important to note the vowels or combinations of vowels before which $(-)\delta\epsilon$ is or is not elided. These vowels can be divided into:

(1) those with the rough breathing

(ii) those with the smooth breathing.

(i) Before vowels or combinations of vowels with the rough breathing

(-)δε is usually not elided.

There are no instances of (-)δε being elided before:-

α- (1,S); αλ- (1,S; 1,U); ε- (1,U); ελ- (1,S); ι-(2,S; 2,U);

ο- (6,S; 3,U); ολ- (10,S; 1,U); φ-(1,S; 1,U).

N.B. Figures in brackets represent the number of instances of Hiatus recorded.

Before η- : U:- 10 exx. of Hiatus, 2498.14.(321/0) - 1328.16.
(183/2).

2 exx. of Elision, 1241.27.(300/299); 1304.50.
(pp.211/10).

Before θ- : S:- 2 exx. of Hiatus, 674.20.(273/2); 682.30.
(c.256/5).

1 ex. of Elision, 1534.B.345.(247/6).

(ii) Before vowels or combinations of vowels with the smooth breathing there are no instances of (-) δε being elided before:-

αλ- (1,S); η- (1,U); οθ- (4,S; 1,U); φ- (1,U).

In the following instances there are more exx. of Hiatus than Elision: before δ- : S:- 30 exx. of Hiatus

10 exx. of Elision, of which 8 are
before 247/6.

U:- 12 exx. of Hiatus

5 exx. of Elision, of which 4 are before
the middle of the 3rd. century.

before $\alpha\delta$ -: S:- 53 exx. of Hiatus

16 exx. of Elision, of which 11 are
before the middle of the 3rd. century.

U:- 25 exx. of Hiatus

3 exx. of Elision, all before 263/2.

before δ - : S:- 28 exx. of Hiatus

10 exx. of Elision, all before 247/6.

U:- 6 exx. of Hiatus

6 exx. of Elision, from the end of the 4th.
century to 175/4.

Before $\epsilon\delta$ - there is 1 ex. each of Hiatus and Elision.

In the following instances there are more exx. of Elision than

Hiatus: before $\epsilon\delta$ - : S:- 2 exx. of Hiatus

7 exx. of Elision, all before f.s.iv.

U:- 2 exx. of Hiatus

1 ex. of Elision

But note that 6 of the S exx. of Elision are in 1 inscr., so
that, if we except that inscr., this is a case of a preponderance
of Hiatus.

before δ - : S:- 1 ex. of Hiatus

2 exx. of Elision

Conclusion: $(-)\delta\epsilon$ is generally not elided, and the majority of exx.
of Elision which do occur are in the earlier part of my period. This
is in accord with the period after 146 BC. when $(-)\delta\epsilon$ is hardly ever
elided - only twice before δ - in the same inscr. viz. 1035.12 and 15.

(in.s.i.π). In the period before 323 BC. there are a few exx. of Elision in the 5th. century and a very few in the 4th. century up to 323 BC. except before αν .

As can be seen from the preceding table the period with the greatest number of exx. of Elision is 323-300 in State inscrr.

b) επλ : the instances on the table are divided between S and U.

For P, see after the table.

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
επλ	1	13	7	15	1	1	2	6	3	3	6	12	4	20	-
	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
	T	13	7	17	1	1	2	6	3	3	7	14	4	20	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3 b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	1 ¹	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹⁰	-	-	-
επ' εφ'	1	49	1	3	-	5	2	15	-	1	1	2	-	1	-
	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	3	1	-	-	-
	T	50	1	3	-	6	2	15	2	3	4	3	-	1	-
	a	10	-	24	-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	1
	3 b	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

P:- 1 ex. of Elision, επ' A- 4682.6.(s.iii.π)

11 exx. of Hiatus, επλ ε- 4669.1.(s.iv/iii.π) - επλ A-

4931.a.1.(171/0).

Detailed analysis of the preceding table:

(1) Before vowels or combinations of vowels with the rough breathing $\xi\pi\zeta$ is usually elided.

There are no instances of $\xi\pi\zeta$ in Hiatus before:-

$\alpha\iota$ - (8,S); $\alpha\delta$ - (1,U); δ - (2,S; 2,U); δ - (2,S); $\alpha\iota$ - (1,S; 1,U);
 $\alpha\delta$ - (4,S); δ - (6,S); δ - (22,S).

N.B. Figures in brackets represent the number of exx. of Elision recorded.

Before δ - : S:- 1 ex. of Elision, H.V.422.15.12.(196/5).

U:- 1 ex. of Hiatus, 1292.8.(pp.216/5).

Before η - : S:- 5 exx. of Hiatus, from f.s.iv to 193/2.

24 exx. of Elision; of these 19 are before 305/4, and 13 of the 19 are instances of the formulaic $\xi\phi'\eta\epsilon$ i.e. used of dedicatory objects "on which" a certain mark is made.

U:- 6 exx. of Hiatus; 5 of these belong to the year 300/299.

1 ex. of Elision.

Before ι - : S:- 8 exx. of Hiatus, from 296/5 to 176/5.

33 exx. of Elision, of which 32 belong to 1534.A.(292/1.π) and 1b.B.(247/6), used in the formula $\xi\phi'$ $\iota\epsilon\pi\epsilon\omega\zeta$.

U:- 5 exx. of Hiatus, from 248/7 to 175/4.

1 ex. of Elision, 1362.a.9.(f.s.iv.π).

P:- 8 exx. of Hiatus, from s.iv/iii to p.179.s.

0 exx. of Elision.

Note that $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ + $\acute{\iota}$ - shows more exx. of Hiatus than Elision except in S. Does this perhaps indicate different levels of literacy? Note particularly that there are no exx. of Elision in P.

(ii) Before vowels or combinations of vowels with the smooth breathing there are no instances of $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ being elided before:-
 $\alpha\acute{\iota}$ - (3,U); $\acute{\iota}$ - (2,S; 1,U); $\acute{\omicron}$ - (4,S; 1,U); $\omicron\acute{\iota}$ - (1,S).

In the following instances there are more exx. of Hiatus than Elision: before $\acute{\alpha}$ - : S:- 39 exx. of Hiatus

12 exx. of Elision, of which 10 are before 240/39.

U:- 4 exx. of Hiatus

3 exx. of Elision, all in s.iii.

P:- 2 exx. of Hiatus

1 ex. of Elision, 4682.6.(s.iii.π).

before $\epsilon\acute{\omicron}$ -: S:- 15 exx. of Hiatus

8 exx. of Elision, all before 256/5.

U:- 2 exx. of Hiatus

0 exx. of Elision.

Before ϵ - there are : S:- 5 exx. of Hiatus

2 exx. of Elision, (251/0; 235/4).

U:- 1 ex. of Hiatus

5 exx. of Elision, all in s.iii.

Conclusion: $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}$ is usually elided before the rough breathing,

The 2 exx. of Elision are:

τά τ' ἐν | τῇ δ' ὄρ[ο]ν 380.35-36.(320/19)

κατ' οὐδὲ H.IV.525.39.24.(226/5).

Conclusion: τὲ shows a very strong tendency not to be elided.

Note that the 2 exx. of Elision are S, and compare above.

In the period after 146 BC τὲ is hardly ever elided.

Before 323 BC. there are a few exx. of Elision in the 5th. century, but none in the 4th. century up to 323 BC.

2. Prepositions (plus ὅμω and ἔνω):

a) ὅμω :

S:- 1 ex., Elision: ὅμω* ἐν 457.b.19.(307/6).

U and P:- none.

b) ἐνω :

S:- none.

U:- 2 exx., Elision: ἐνω* ὅν 1304.10.(pp.211/10); 1326.21.
(176/5).

P:- none.

c) ὅκω :

S:-10 exx. of Elision:

(6) ὅκω* δ- 463.5.(307/6) - 2313.54.(190/89.π).

ὅκω* ἐ- 3475.3.(p.197.s.).

(2) ὅκω* ἔ- 957.83.(157/6); 958.95.(154/3).

ḏφ'οῦ 743.7.(in.s.iii.π).

1 ex. of Hiatus: ḏπδ 'Α- 2315.36.(p.180.π).

U:- 3 exx., Elision:

(2) ḏφ'οῦ 1271.9.(299/8.π); 1265.2.(300-250.π).

ḏφ' οῦν 1326.16.(176/5).

P:- none.

d) δλδ :

S:- 4 exx., Elision:

δλ' δ- 774.b.17.(c.250/49.h.).

δλ' εδ- 373.23.(322/1).

δλ' δ- 457.b.17.(307/6).

δλ' οῦ H.V.422.15.17.(196/5).

U:- 1 ex., Elision:

δλ' δ 1328.31.(175/4).

P:- none.

e) ενα :

S:- 1 ex. of Elision:

ενα' δς 845.8.(f.s.iii.π).

3 exx. of Hiatus:

ενα | ελ 844.12-13.(193/2).

(2) ενα οῦν 845.9.(f.s.iii.π); 891.8.(188/7.gr.).

U:- 2 exx. of Elision:

ενα' δ- 1325.24.(185/4).

ενα' οῦν 1318.9.(p.179.s.).

4 exx. of Hiatus:

- ενα ελ- 1316.18.(272/1).
 (2) ενα ουν 1299.17.(pp.236/5); 1329.19.(175/4).
 ενα ο- 1326.47.(176/5).

P:- none.

f) κατά :

S:- 14 exx., Elision:

- (2) κατ' ἀξίαν 558.15.(c.303/2.h.); 832.20.(229/8).
 καθ' ἄς 1678.a.57.(a.315.h.).
 κατ' ε- 463.76.(307/6).
 (2) καθ' ἑκάστου 505.14.(302/1); 670.10.(279/8.π).
 καθ' ἦν H.XVI.156.51.d.31.(c.250.π).
 κατ' ἰδίαν 945.12.(168/7).
 (2) καθ' ἰδίαν π 891.6.(188/7.gr.); S.XVI.94.12.
 (b.173/2 - 168/7.h.).
 (4) καθ' ο- 503.14.(302/1) - 998.3.(m.s.ii.π).

U:- 17 exx., Elision:

- κατ' α- 1271.20.(299/8.π).
 (6) κατ' ε- 1165.19.(300-250.π) - 1330.46.(p.163.π).
 (5) καθ' ἑκάστ- 1277.25.(278/7) - 1327.25.(178/7).
 (2) καθ' ἦν 1328.7.(183/2); H.XI.295.58.10.(152/1).
 κατ' ἰδίαν Ib.6.
 καθ' ἰδίαν π 1281.10.(c.266.h.).
 καθ' ο 1304.b.7.(269/8).

(π For ἰδιος > ἰδιος, see PH.II.C.3.).

P:- none.

g) μετὰ :

S:- 27^{exx.} of Elision:

- (5) μετ' α- 505.54.(302/1) - H.XI.290.56.12.(247/6).
 (7) μετ' αδ- 1480.6.(c.314/3.7[≡]) - 844.65.(193/2).
 (2) μεθ' ε- 641.16.(299/8); 682.39.(c.256/5).
 (9+) μετ' ελ- [≡] 458.6.(307/6) - 654.5.(285/4).
 μετ' εδ- 505.18.(302/1).
 μεθ' η- 1487.92.(306/5).
 μεθ' ο- 687.34.(265/4).
 μεθ' ων S.XVI.92.10.(173/2).

1 ex. of Hiatus:

μετὰ 'Α- H.III.18.18.14.(169/8).

U:- 6^{exx.}, Elision:

- μετ' α- 1299.67.(pp.236/5).
 (2) μετ' αδ- 1328.25.(175/4); 1322.14.(p.179.s.).
 μεθ' αδ- S.XV.112.18.(225/4).
 μεθ' ε- 1193.6.(f.s.iv.π).
 μετ' εδ- 1235.6.(c.248/7.≡).

P:- none.

([≡] This is the formulaic μετ' εὐχόμενος of which there are many more exx.)

h) παρὰ :

S:- 21^{exx.}, Elision:

- (5) παρ' δ- 550.14.(p.314/3.h.) - 845.7.(f.s.iii.π).
 (2) παρ' δ- 450.b.11.(314/3); 1552.7.(in.s.iii.π).
 παρ' Δι- 655.10.(285/4).
 (5) παρ' αδ- 674.7.(273/2) - 947.16.(166/5.gr.).
 παρ' 'E- H.VI.450.3.14.(b.224-196.h.).
 (3) παρ' ε- H.II.403.20.8.(c.f.s.iv.π) - 657.25.(283/2).
 (2) παρ' Eδ- 1631.457 and 492.(323/2).
 παρ' 'H- 1b.487.
 παρ' 'O- 1534.A.96.(292/1.π).

U:- 11 exx. of Elision:

- (5) παρ' αδ- 2501.19.(f.s.iv.π) - 1325.20.(185/4).
 (6) παρ' ε- 1165.35.(300-250.π) - 1215.13.(p.221.s.).

1 ex. of Hiatus:

- παρδ' 'A- 1330.49.(p.163.π).

P:- none.

1) ὑπό :

S:- 7 exx., Elision:

- (3) ὑπ' αδ- 885.12.(c.200.h.) - 945.10.(168/7).
 (3) ὑφ' ε- 1934.2.(f.s.iv.π) - 844.56.(193/2).
 ὑφ' ὦν 555.11.(b.307/6-303/2.h.).

U:- 7 exx. of Elision:

- ὑπ' αδ- 1329.5.(175/4).
 (2) ὑφ' αδ- S.XV.113.12.(215/4); 1304.35.(pp.211/10).
 (4) ὑφ' ε- 1165.24.(300-250.π) - 1304.30.(pp.211/10).

1 ex. of Hiatus:

ὅτι δ- 1299.49.(pp.236/5).

P:- none.

Summary:

N.B.1. There are only 2 exx. before rough breathing which are in Hiatus. They are both U viz.

ἵνα ὑπάρχει 1326.47.(176/5)

ὅτι ἀπάντων 1299.49.(pp.236/5).

2. Before the smooth breathing there are only 9 exx. of Hiatus. Of these 5 are S, and 4 U.

The following are always elided: (figures in brackets indicate the number of instances recorded):-

S:- ἀμα (1); διὰ (4); κατὰ (14); παρὰ (21); ὑπό (7).

U:- ἀντί (1); ἀπό (3); διὰ (1); κατὰ (17); μετά (6).

Therefore, those in both S and U with exx. of Elision only are διὰ and κατὰ. Of the others - excluding ἀμα and ἀντί which do not have exx. in both S and U - which are always elided in one group but not in the other

S:- παρὰ has 11 exx. of Elision in U out of 12

ὅτι " 7 " " " " " " 8.

These 2 are therefore predominantly elided in both S and U.

U:- ἀπό has 8 exx. of Elision in S out of 9

μετά " 27 " " " " " " 28.

Therefore these 2 are also predominantly elided in both S and U.

One can now say that $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}$ were always elided, and $\acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\omicron}$, $\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$, $\pi\alpha\rho\acute{\alpha}$ and $\acute{\omicron}\nu\acute{\omicron}$ almost always elided.

For the rest, we are left with $\epsilon\nu\alpha$, which gives the following figures: S:- 1 ex. of Elision; 3 exx. of Hiatus (all before smooth breathing.)

U:- 2 exx. of Elision; 4 exx. of Hiatus (3 of these before smooth breathing.)

This word is, therefore, not predominantly elided - although the instances are probably too few to enable us to say that it is usually in Hiatus.

Note that this picture accords well with the period before 323 BC. After 146 BC, there are no exx. of Hiatus at all except with $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}$ and $\epsilon\nu\alpha$.

Taking sections 1 and 2 together, we can say that

- (i) before the rough breathing all prepositions including $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ are almost always elided.
- (ii) before the smooth breathing all prepositions excluding $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota$ are almost always elided.
- (iii) particles like $\delta\epsilon$ and $\tau\epsilon$ and the conjunction $\epsilon\nu\alpha$ show a strong tendency to remain in Hiatus.
- (iv) As in section 1, the proportion of Elision to Hiatus in section 2 seems to be less in U than in S. The ratios are roughly 8:1 for U, and 16:1 for S.
- (v) Certain prepositional phrases have a definite formulaic flavour which tends towards Elision e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\phi'$ $\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega\varsigma$; $\kappa\alpha\tau'$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\nu$;

καθ' ἑκαστ- ; μετ' εἰκάδας ; παρ' αὐτῶν .

3. Other words:

Apart from sections 1 and 2 there are very few exx. of Elision indeed: Si- in chronological order the exx. are

διὰ ταύτ' αὐτῶν	379.5.(321/0 or 318/7)
(2) ἐπὶ ἡμιπόδια	463.60 and 64.(307/6)
(3) ὅσ' ἄν	1b.4, 27 and 85.
τάλλ' ὅσ'	1b.27.
ψηφί[[ε]σματ' ἀναλι [σκομένων	534.2-3.(f.s.iv.π).
τρί', 'Α-	1534.B.200.(247/6)
σῶμ' ἀ-	1b.235.
στόμ', 'Α-	1b.238.
οἶκαι' ὀ-	834.18.(pp.229.h.)
γένητ' ἐ-	1b.18.

The following points are worth noting:

- (i) out of these 13 exx. 8 show α elided before α .
- (ii) the last ex. - οἶκαι' ὅπως γένητ' ἐφρόντισ[εν] shows the diphthong -αι elided before ε . This phrase has a curiously iambic flavour, although it occurs in an ordinary honorary decree. Elision of -αι is common in Epic and is also found in Attic Comedy e.g. Aristophanes, Clouds, line 7: ὅτ' οὐδὲ κολᾶσ' ἔξεστί μοι τοὺς οἰκέτας . The suspicion is strong that the drafter of the decree could not resist the temptation to continue the iambic sequence by eliding the -αι of γένηται .
- (iii) 11 of the 13 exx. belong to only 3 inscrr.

U:- there are 2 exx.:

ἐνοικοδομήσει δὲ καὶ κατ'ασκευῇ καὶ ἄλλ' ὅ(τ)αν
τι βούληται 2499.9-10.(306/5).

The stone actually reads ΟΞΑΝ , and it is clear that what we have here is a confusion between ὅσ' ἄν and ὅτι ἄν and ὅταν τι . It would also be possible to divide the letters ἄλλ(α) ὅσ(α) ἄν τι βούληται " other things as many as he may wish in any respect". This would save the stone-cutter's reputation, although the expression would be more natural without τι .

Taken as IG take it, there is an Elision of either ἄλλα or ἄλλο (almost certainly the former). Reading ὅσ' ἄν there are 2 Elisions, ἄλλ' and ὅσ' .

τὰ πρ[ο]σταυτόμεν' αὐτῶι ὁ[π]ο[τ] ἔων νόμων
1284.24.(257/6).

The one point which is remarkable is not the fact that there is a vast preponderance of exx. of Hiatus - which one would presumably expect to find in a non-literary document - but the fact that there are 17 cases of verbs in Hiatus where the ephekkustic nu would have removed it:-

Si:- εἰδῶσι ὅτι	448.17.(318/7)
ἐξέβαλε ἐκ	1b.46
ἦρχε. ἄ-	3079.1-2.(282/1)
(2) ἀνέθηκε ἑ-	1534.A.59 and 120.(292/1.π)

ἀνέθηκε *A-	1b.114
(2) ἀνέθηκε IIb-	1b.110; 839.79.(221/0)
ἦγαγε: δ-	1534.A.95.(292/1.π)
ἔθυσεν δ[689.9.(260/59)
εἶπε [ε]κ	1539.5-6.(215/4)
ἐγραμμώτευσεν *A-	H.III.28.20.3.(163/2).
U:- οἰέλυσε *A-	1201.8.(p.317.h.)
ἀναγορεύσωσι, δ-	1263.43-44.(300/299)
ἀποδιδόσκει οἱ	1316.19.(272/1)
στεφανοῦ [σ]ι *II-	1247.15-16.(m.s.iii.π)
εἶπε· ἐπειδὴ κατλ.	S.XV.113.2.(215/4)

This last ex. is the only ex. of εἶπε without the ephelkustic nu in all the numerous exx. of the formula in both S and U: ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ κατλ.

N.B. For ephelkustic nu, see PH.II.E. below.

There are also 3 instances in S of adverbs in -θε(ν) where the nu is omitted with a resultant Hiatus: (see also MO.I.B.1.)

νοτόθε: ὁ	1588.11.(in.s.iii.π)
*οἰθε εν	1534.B.267.(247/6)
*οἰθε· ὁ-	1b.254.

But it is worth noting that 1534.B is full of abbreviations, the final letters of words being omitted frequently. (cf. OR.I.G.)

Before 323 BC. there are a few exx. of Elision. After 146 BC. there do not appear to be any.

4. Crasis.a) καί before vowel:

S:- 1 ex. of Crasis: κακεῖθεν 903.8.(c.176/5).

There are at least 72 exx. of καί + vowel where Crasis does not occur.

U:- 1 ex. of Crasis: πολλὰ καγαθὰ 1275.11.(in.s.iii.π).

N.B. There are no exx. before 323 BC. After 146 BC. I have found 1 ex. of κακεῖθεν and 1 ex. of κακεῖ.

b) Article before vowel:

S:- 14 exx. of Crasis:

(7) τᾶλλα 1678.a.1 and 20.(a.315.h.); 463.27.
(307/6); 500.15.(302/1); 713.8.(in.s.iii.π);
748.5.(in.s.iii.π); 1682.28.(285/4).

τᾶργυ[ρι]ον 463.110.(307/6).

τᾶνα/[ν]τία 687.56.(265/4).

(4) ταῖτα 1678.a.2.(a.315.h.); 1682.19.(285/4);
687.57 and 58.(265/4).

θαῖρα 1685.B₃.3.(in.s.iii.π).

Note how these exx. are confined mainly to a few inscrs.

There are numerous exx. where Crasis does not take place e.g.

τᾶ ἀλλ[α] 588.4.(f.s.iv.π)

τὸ ἀργύρι[ον] 479.10.(c.305/4).

U:- 18 exx. of Crasis:

(12) τᾶλλα 2498.3 and 16.(321/0); 2499.32.(306/5);
1261.7 and 32.(301/300); 1194.9.(c.300.π);

	2501.13.(f.s.iv.π); 1264.8.(300/299);
	1166.5.(300-250.π); 1273.25.(281/0.π);
	1225.21.(c.250.h.); 1330.54.(p.163.π).
(2) τοῦνομα	1362.11 and 16.(f.s.iv.π).
τάκιδουθα	1302.9.(220/19).
τάδελοφού	1326.32.(176/5).
τάνδρδς	1b.19.
But cf.	
τά ἄλλα	1209.11.(p.319.π).
τὸ αὐτὸ	1201.9.(p.317.h).
τὰ αὐτά	1165.22.(300-250.π).

Before 323 BC. *τάλλα* is common, and there are exx. of *ταὐτά*, *τάναντία*, *τοῦνομα* and *τάπολωδὸτα*. After 146 BC. the only Crasis of this type is *τάλλα*.

c) Relative Pronoun before vowel:

There are no exx. of Crasis.

d) προ- before augment:

No exx. of Crasis: cf. *προέσθηκεν* S.XIV.58.14.(302.π)

προέστη H.XXVIII.195.11.15.(p.179.s.).

N.B. Verse Inscr.: because of the influence of metre no real conclusions can be drawn. In 36 out of the 49 cases of Elision the elided syllable is not written; in the other 13 it is written but

must be elided.

There are 3 cases where a short vowel is not elided before a following vowel:

παντα ὁ	G.1689.5.P.(pa .317/6.π)
ἑπτα ἕ-	G.1759.4.P.(300-250.π)
εὐξατο ὁ-	G.632.5.P.(in.s.iii.π)

There are 4 exx. of Crasis:

καμοι	G.1689.1.P.(pa .317/6.π)
ταμα	G.1601.3.P.(in.s.iii.π)
χω	3474.6.V.B.(p.179.s.)
τουννομα	G.1077.2.P.(s.ii.π)

II. Consonants.

A. Consonants followed by a vowel.

N.B. In this section, and in section B below, I note all consonantal changes whether I consider them to be genuine linguistic phenomena or exceptional forms to be explained in some other way. cf. I.A. above.

1. Labials:

- a) Pi: (i) ππ > π : 'Ιπώκου 1328.24.U.(175/4).

This appears to be a late development. There are no exx. before 323 BC., but I have found 2 exx. after 146 BC. viz. 'Ιπάρχου 1008.53.(118/7);

'Ιποκράτης 7800.a.P.(s.i.π).

- (ii) π > φ : see C.2.a. and b. below.

- b) Phi: (i) φ > π : see C.1.b. below.

2. Gutturals:

- a) Gamma: (i) γγ > κ : Ουκιάτηρ 6331.P.(s.iii.κ).

Μεγαρικὴ 9318.P.(s.iii.κ).

But cf. Μεγαρικὴ 9312.P.(s.iii.κ);

9317.P.(s.iii.κ); 9307.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

- (ii) δλίγος > δλίος :

δλίον 1325.22.U.(185/4)

δλία (acc.pl.neut.) 949.11.(165/4)

cf. δλιάρχαι 448.16.(318/7).

- (iii) γν > γ : see 5.a.(ii) below.

b) Kappa: (i) $\kappa\omicron\kappa$ remains unchanged before δ - : see C.4 below.

(ii) $\kappa\epsilon > \epsilon\gamma$ and $\kappa\chi$: see D. below.

(iii) $\kappa\lambda\eta > \kappa\eta$: see 4.a.(ii) below.

(iv) $\kappa\lambda\epsilon > \kappa\epsilon$: see 4.a.(iii) below.

c) Chi: (i) $\chi\rho\chi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\rho \rightarrow \chi\rho\eta\epsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\rho$: see C.1.c. below.

3. Dentals:

a) Delta: (i) $\delta > \zeta$:

$\Theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\eta$ / $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\upsilon$ / $\Pi\alpha\iota\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\epsilon\omega\varsigma$ 7055.P.(s.iii.x).

cf. the fragmentary speech of Lysias κατὰ

$\Theta\epsilon\omicron\zeta\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$. The papyrus actually lacks the title but the name appears twice in the text. (1)

This speech is referred to by Pollux (2) : ὡς

$\Lambda\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma$ ἐν τῇ κατὰ $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\upsilon$.

There he uses the normal Attic form $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\eta\varsigma$;

so also $\Theta\epsilon\delta\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$. But cf. Buck: " $\Delta\iota\delta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$

(i.e. $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ - $\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ cf. $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ - $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\omicron\iota$) and

$\Theta\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\Theta\epsilon\delta\omicron\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$,

$\Theta\iota\delta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ (formed after $\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ - $\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$,

cf. $\Theta\epsilon\delta\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ in Hesiod), instead of usual

$\Delta\iota\delta\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\Theta\epsilon\delta\omicron\delta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ are frequent in Boeotian,

and Thessalian also has $\Theta\epsilon\delta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\Theta\iota\delta\zeta\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$

and $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\rho\delta\acute{\omicron}\tau\omicron\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$. (3)

(1) see Grenfell and Hunt, The Hibeh Papyri, vol.i, pp.49-55, no.14, lines 28 and 41.

(2) 8.46.

(3) op.cit. p.133, section 166,2.

ζ here, therefore, probably represents -οδ-:

see also Schwyzer. (1)

(ii) οδδεις, μηδεις > οδθεις, μηθεις : see

VO.I.B.

(iii) ορ > δ : see 4.b.(i) below.

b) Theta: (i) θ > τ : see G.1.a. below.

c) Tau: (i) ττ > τ : τέταρος 1534.B.193.(247/6)

ορᾶτα 8906.P. and 8925.P.

(p.f.s.iv.π). There are exx. of this before and after my period.

(ii) πτο > πο: Πολεμαίου 7930.P.(p.197.s.).

4. Liquids:

a) Lambda: (i) V(owel) λ V(owel) > VV:

*Αντιφίου 6559.P.(p.f.s.iv.π).

(ii) κλη > κη : *Ασκητιδίου 945.3.(168/7).

(iii) κλε > κε :

*Ηρακλώτης 8706.P.(p.f.s.iv.π); 8557.P.
(s.iii/ii.π)

*Ηρακλῶτης 8654.P.(s.ii.π)

Φανοκῆους 5434.P.(s.iii.π).

(iv) λλ > λ :

Τραλιανός 10,456.P.(p.f.s.iv.π)

Καλιστράτης 1534.B.250.(247/6)

Καλιστράτου 10,818.P.(s.ii.π)

*Απολωνιεύς 5688.P.(p.179.s.).

(1) op.cit. vol.1, p.330.

b) Rho: (i) $\delta\rho > \delta$: Εικάνδου 6033.P.(s.iii.κ).

(ii) metathesis of ρ :

κάτροκτα 1471.47, 48 and 49.(318/7).

But cf. κατ]οκτρον ib.46.

κάτροκτον 1534.B.196.(247/6).

(iii) $\rho\rho > \rho$: ἀναρηθέντες 1468.12.(321/0).

ἡυρινούττη [ς] 2436.9.(p.179.s.).

καρη|σίως H.IV.525.39.20-21.(226/5).

5. Nasals:

a) Nu: (i) $\nu > \nu\nu$: σωννιδίωι 1534.A.69.(292/1.κ)

Σύννων H.IX.122.25.60.(165-150.κ).

(ii) $\gamma\nu > \gamma$: Διογῆτ[ου] S.XIV.81.7.U.(264/3).

6. Spirants:

a) Sigma: (i) ς doubled before α :

ἔωςς ἄν 1328.18.U.(183/2).

(ii) ς doubled before η :

[B]αρχίςς | 'H- 8590.P.(s.iii/ii.κ).

(iii) $\sigma\sigma > \sigma$:

Εἰδίσσα 9354.P.(s.iii/ii.κ)

*Αλικαρνασεύς 8042.P.(s.iii/ii.κ)

λεῦσων G.1689.2.P.(pa.317/6.κ).

7. Double Consonants:

a) Zeta: (i) $\zeta > \sigma\zeta$: ἐπεψήφισζε 448.39.(318/7)

ἐπαψή|φισεν H.VII.476.31.7-8(319/8).

These are the only 2 exx. in my period out of scores of instances of the word.

(11) ζ > ε : ἑωπυρίων 4677.2.P.(s.iii.π).

N.B. After 146 BC. there are several exx. of interchange between the spirants e.g.

ζ > σ : Ευσαντία 8439.P.(s.i.π)
 σ > ζ : Εαστράτου 12,098.P.(s.ii/i.π)
 ζ > ε : ἑωπυρος 7943.P.(s.i.π).

8. ρρ and ττ :

a) ρρ : (1) ρρ never becomes ρσ : e.g.

ταρρὸν 1631.8, 31, 40, 53, 266, 272 and
 422.(323/2)

Π[υ]ρρῖνος S.XVI.91.125.(173/2)

θαρραλέης G.1466.2.P.(m.s.iii.π).

(11) ρρ > ρ : see 4.b.(iii) above.

b) ττ : (1) ττ never becomes θθ : e.g.

συνέπραττε 448.50.(318/7)

ἐλάττοσι [ν 463.41.(307/6)

ἀρμόττοντας 1b.72.

θετταλοῖ 545.8.(p.318/7.h.)

τετταράκοντα 742.6.(in.s.iii.π)

θάλατ[ταν 653.20.(285/4)

διαφυλ|άττων 677.1-8.(p.277.h.)

προσέταττον 790.21.(235/4)

ῥῥον	833.10.(229/8)
ῥῥον	896.16.(186/5)
ῥῥον	8898.P.(317/6.π)
(ii) ῥῥ > ῥ	: see 3.c.(i) above.

B. Consonants followed by a consonant.

1. Labials:

- a) Pi: (i) ῥῥ > ῥ : see 3.b.(i) below.
 (ii) ῥῥ > ῥ : see A.3.c.(ii) above.

2. Gutturals:

- a) Gamma: (i) γγ > γγ : see b.(i) below.
 (ii) γγ > γγ : see 5.b.(i) below.
 (iii) γγ > γγ :

ῥῥον 5260.P.(p.f.s.iv.π)

But cf. ῥῥον 5265.P.(s.iii/ii.π) etc.

Sturtevant argues that the use of γ = [ɣ] can only be explained if there was an actual change of γ = [g] to a nasal in some position viz. before a nasal: so γγ and γγ change from [gn, gm] to [ɣn, ɣm]. He explains the spelling ῥῥ- on this basis. (1)

(iv) ῥῥ > ῥ : see VO.I.C.

- b) Kappa: (i) γγ > γγ : λυγγούριον 1534.A.100.(292/1-π).

(1) The Pronunciation of Greek and Latin, p. 64, sect. 71.

(ii)κ doubled before τ :

ἐκκ τῶν 657.40.(283/2); 1283.7.U.
(263/2).

ἐκκτελ H.S.I.74.29.4.(228/7).

(iii)κχ > χχ : see C.2.c. below.

(iv)ἐκ > ἐχ before θ : see C.2.d. below.

(v)ἐκ->ἐχ-before θ : see C.2.e. below.

c) Chi: (i)χ omitted before θ :

ελακπα(χ)θδν 1534.A.95.(292/1.κ). This may
be due to the influence of ἐπαράθην .

(ii)κχ > χχ : see C.2.c. below.

3. Dentals:

a) Delta: (i)δν > γν : *ἀφελγυαῖος 3852.5.7.(in.s.iii.κ).

I have found 1 parallel viz. 5752.P.(340-317.κ).

(ii)δρ > τρ :

*ἀτραμντηνός 7944.P.(s.ii.κ);

*ἀτραμντηνή 7945.P.(c.s.ii.κ).

But cf. *ἀδραμντ[ην]ός 7941.P.(s.iii.κ).

b) Tau: (i)πτρ > πρ : ἀμπτρῶς 6684.P.(m.s.iii.κ); 6646.P.
(s.ii.κ).

(ii)πτρ > πρτ : ἀμπτρῶς 6700.P.(s.iii.κ). This is
almost certainly a mistake; but cf. ἀμπτρῶς [ς]
6715.P.(m.s.iv.κ).

(iii)ττ rather than θθ : see A.8.b.(1) above.

4. Liquids:

- a)
- Rho:
- (1)
- ρρ rather than ρσ
- : see A.8.a.(1) above.

5. Nasals:

- a)
- Nu:
- (1)
- νν > γνν
- : see 2.a.(iii) above.

(ii) ν doubled before τ :

ἐ]ποίησανντο 1480.8.(in.s.iii.κ).

- b)
- Nasal Gamma:
- (1)
- γκτ > κτ
- :

σαλπικτῆς 957.42.(157/6); 958.40.(154/3).

6. Spirants:

- a)
- ς doubled before

(1) τ : εἰς τὴν 508.8.(f.s.iv.κ)

ἄκεστοθέμι [δος 1933.12.(f.s.iv.κ)

ἐσστεφά [ν]ωσαν 656.8-9.(284/3)

[N]ικέσσ [τ]ρατος 5706.P.(p.221.s.)

ἱστορία 11,751.P.(s.iii.κ)

Χαιρεστράτη 8036.P.(p.197.s.)

ἄριστῶ 8079.P.(s.ii.κ)

ἄριστωνος 8482.P.(s.ii.κ).

(ii) θ : ἔμπροσθεν H.VII.476.31.12.(319/8)

but cf. ἔμ[π]ροσθε 654.13.(285/4) etc.

γ] | ράψασθαι 808.18-19.(b.239-229.h.)

but cf. γράψασθαι 392.5.(b.321/0-319/8) etc.

πορεύεσθαι 1283.16.U.(263/2)

ὀποδέχεσθαι 1b.17.

but cf. λογίζεσθαι H.XI.283.55.17.U.(p.260.s.) etc.

(111) κ : ἄσσηληπιῶν 4412.2.P.(f.s.iv.κ); 4439.2.P.
(283/2).

ἄσσηληπιῶν 9969.P.(s.iii.κ).

b) σ omitted before

(1) σ : εἰσικυων [ίους H.VIII.35.9.12.(303/2.κ).

(11) στ : τήστοις 1469.120.(320/19)

τοῖσ'τρατηγοῖς 1479.65.(312/11)

τήσ'τήλης 530.5.(f.s.iv.κ); 643.10.(p.229/8.f.).

(111) τ : χρητή 11,079.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ)

cf. χρητός 13,048.P.(s.ii/1.κ).

N.B. Before 323 BC. there are several exx. of a) and b) - except

b.(iii) -, but after 146 BC. there are very few.

c) ζ > σζ : see A.7.a.(1) above.

C. Aspiration.

1. Removal of Aspire:

a) θ > τ : Τουκρίτου 2504.3.U.(211/10).

For θεο > του : see I.A.3.f.(1) above.

b) φ > π : Πανονδία 6085.P.(s.ii.κ).

c) χ > κ : ἀρκεθ [εωρ- 365.a.10.(323/2); 1b.b.7.

2. Aspiration caused by a following Aspire:

a) κ > φ before θ : Διοφείθου 1534.A.60.(292/1.κ).

b) κ > φ before φ : Φερσεφόνης G.1913.9.P.(m.s.iii.κ).

c) κ > χ before χ : Ἰάχχωι 4680.2.P.(s.iii.κ).

d) ἐκ > ἐχ before θ : ἐχ θεντα [λ] [ί]α 545.5.(p.318/7.h.)

ἐχ θενταλ [ί] [ί]α 545.9.(p.318/7.h.).

e) ἐκ- > ἐχ- before φ : ἐ|χφορᾶν 1275.67.U.(300-250.π).

3. ἰδιος > ἰδιος :

καθ' ἰδίαν 891.6.(188/7.gr.); S.XVI.94.12.(b.173/2 -
168/7.h.)
1281.10.U.(c.266.h.).

But cf. κατ' ἰδίαν 945.12.(168/7)
H.XI.295.58.6.U.(152/1).

4. οὐκ remains unchanged before δ- :

οὐκ ὄγι[εῖς 1469.47.(320/19).

On the other hand this may be a case of δ > δ̣ : note the loss of the rough breathing in modern Greek. (cf. also:MO.I.D.1.).

5. For οὐδεῖς, μηδεῖς > οὐθεῖς, μηθεῖς, see VO.I.B.

D. Preposition ἐκ.

1. Before the following consonants ἐκ usually becomes ἐγ:-

- a) β : ἐγβάτην 3148.2.?(s.ii.π)
(3) ἐγβιβάζον 2314.38.(p.191.π); 2317.49.(158/7.π);
2316.17.(c.166/5.π).
ἐγβολῆς 1241.15.U.(300/299).
ἐγ Βεροῦας 710.7.(b.295/4 - 256/5.π).

b) γ : ἐκγονος > ἐγγονος :

S:- 10 exx. of ἐκγον- : 374.14.(p.319/8.f.); 538.9.(a.303/2.f.);

S.XVI.59.6.(f.s.iv.π); 576.13.(f.s.iv.π); 657.65.(283/2);
 H.IX.353.48.11.(b.287-278.h.); 682.82.(c.256/5); 808.18.
 (b.239-229.h.); 873.2.(s.iii.?.π); 844.68.(193/2);
 17 exx. of ἔγγον- : 373.29.(322/1); H.IX.345.44.35.(319/8);
 448.20, 59, 66 and 74.(318/7); 507.9.(c.302/1); 508.3.
 (f.s.iv.π); 541.6.(a.303/2.f.); 551.11.(a.309/8.h.);
 582.2.(f.s.iv.π); 613.7.(f.s.iv.π); 712.13.(b.295/4 -
 256/5.π); 654.47.(285/4); 843.14.(218/7.gr.); 786.26, and
 27.(pp.229/8.h.).

U:- 2 exx. of ἔγγον- : 1236.11 and 17.(a.m.s.ii.π).

3 exx. of ἔγγον- : 1275.11.(in.s.iii.π); 1299.11 and 36.
 (pp.236/5).

N.B. There is a distinct word ἔγγονος = grandson. But as used in
 inscrs. in the formulae εἶναι ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἔγγονος and
 εἶναι ὁ αὐτὸν καὶ ἔγγονος κτλ. there is no distinction of
 meaning between the 2 forms.

Before 323 BC. ἔγγον- is predominant, as is also the case after
 146 BC.

The phenomenon is therefore an assimilation of consonants, no
 doubt also influenced by the word ἔγγονος.

c) δ : ἔγγον[αα]/αὐτῶν 1241.14-15.U.(300/299)

ἔγγονον 1299.39.U.(pp.236/5)

ἔγ δδ 1534.B.153.(247/6).

ἔγ οὐοῖν 1682.26.(285/4)

ἔγ Δωδώνης 1283.6.U.(263/2).

- d) λ : ἐ|γλέγευμ^π 1214.26-27.U.(300-250.π)
 ἐγλεγομέ [υ]|ρου 1206.5.U.(f.s.iv.π)
 ἐγ|λείπει 2499.16-17.U.(306/5)
 ἐγλείει [όντων 1309.b.8.U.(p.221.s.).
 ἐγλογιζομένο [ις 1299.42.U.(pp.236/5)
 ἐγλυθόντων 1631.651 and 668.(323/2)
 ἐγ Δήμου 1492.133.(305/4)
 ἐγ Λυκείου 956.67.(161/0)
 ἐγ Λ[υκείου 958.65.(154/3).
 e) μ : ἔγχετος 1534.Λ.64.(292/1.π)
 ἐγ Κυρρινούτης
 B:- 17 exx., 1631.293.(323/2) - 1938.7.(152/1)
 U:- none.
 P:- 2 exx., 6911.(s.iii.π); 6921.(s.iii.π).
 ἐγ [μ]υσ|τηρίου 1231.10.U.(f.s.iv.π).

2. For ἐμ > ἐχ before θ and φ, see 0.2.d. and e. above.

(π For ἐκλέγειν > ἐκλέγειμ : see F.1.a.(iii) below.)

E. Ephelkustic Nu.

N.B.1. It is necessary to divide each subsection into

(a) examples before vowels and examples before consonants

(b) examples in pausa and examples in media oratione.

2. For Ephelkustic Nu in Verse inscrr., see section 3 below.

3. For trends before and after my period, see section 4 below.

1. Verbs.a) ἔγραμμᾶτευσ(ν) : all exx. are State, and all occur in pausa.

Before Vowels	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
ἔγραμμ- ᾶτευσεν	1	-	-	3	4	-	2	2
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	-	3	4	-	2	2
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ἔγραμμ- ᾶτευσ	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	3abc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Before Consonants	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
ἔγραμμ- άττευεν	1	16	8	9	11	3	7	7
	2	1	1	-	-	2	-	3
	T	17	9	9	11	5	7	10
	a	1	-	-	1	3	1	1
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-
ἔγραμμ- άττει	1	3	1	1	-	-	-	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	4	1	1	-	-	-	-
	3abc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The 1 ex. of ἔγραμμάττει before a vowel viz. ἔγραμμάττει· 'A-
H,III.28.20.3.(163/2), is thus an ex. of Hiatus. For other exx. of
this type of Hiatus, see PH.I.E.3 above.

(N.B. For -εν assimilated to -εμ , see section F below.)

b) ἐπεψήφισεν : all exx. are State, and all occur in media oratione.

Before Vowels	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
ἐπεψήφ- ισεν	1	9	3	3	5	-	4	3
	2	2	-	-	-	-	1	1
	T	11	3	3	5	-	5	4
	a	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3bc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ἐπεψήφ- ισε				NONE				

Before Consonants	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
ἐπεψήφ- ιζεν	1	11	5	7	6	5	9	3
	2	1	1	-	-	1	1	4
	T	12	6	7	6	6	10	7
	a	2	-	-	-	-	1	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	1 ⁴	-	-	-	-
ἐπεψήφ- ιζε	1	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	2	1	1	-	-	-	-
	3abc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

c) εἴπεν : together with a) and b) this verb occurs in the preamble of both State and Sub-Unit inscrr. There are numerous exx. of it, and the Ephelkustic Nu is never omitted except in S.XV.113.2.U.

(215/4) εἴπε · ἐπελοῖη κτλ. . Since this is the only exception, I have not recorded the frequency of εἴπεν on a Table.

d) ἀνέσπε(ν) : There are exx. in State, Sub-Unit and Private inscrr. It is necessary to distinguish those which appear as the last word of an inscr. and those which are followed by another word. I deal with the latter first.

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
		1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
Orations à véthne	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	14	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	a	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	3b	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CONSONANTS In à véthne	1	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 ^e	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BEFORE Pausa à véthne	1	4	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	5	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
In à véthne	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The instances of Hiatus are as follows:-

before 'A- 1534.A.114.(292/1.π)

before 'E- ib.59 and 120

before $\epsilon\upsilon$ - 1b.110; 839.79,(221/0),

	DO	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
ἀνέθηκεν.	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	1 ¹	2 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-	1 ⁵	7 ⁵	-	2 ¹²	2 ¹⁰	-	-	1 ¹¹
ἀνέθηκε.	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	2 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4 ⁵	-	-	-	-	-	-

e) ἐποίησε(ν) : as in d) it is necessary to distinguish the exx. which appear as the last word of the inser. and those which are followed by another word.

The exx. in the latter category are confined to State and Sub-Unit inser., and, since there are very few, can be set out as follows without a Table:-

Before Vowels

in media oratione: ἐποίησεν 3 exx. viz.

ἐποίησεν &- 1474.16 and 20.(318/7); S.XV.111.3.U.
(229/8.7.✱).

ἐποίησε	no exx.
in pausa: ἐποίησεν	1 ex. viz.
ἐποίησεν · ἐφ'	1469.7.(320/19)
ἐποίησε	no exx.

Before Consonants

in media oratione: ἐποίησεν	2 exx. viz.
ἐποίησεν δ-	1245.7.U.(249/8)
ἐποίησεν π-	1165.5.U.(300-250.✱)
ἐποίησε	no exx.
in pausa: ἐποίησεν	4 exx. viz.
ἐποίησεν, σ-	1469.25.(320/19); 1476.32.(315/4)
ἐποίησεν · σ-	1492.24.(305/4); ib.29.
ἐποίησε	2 exx. viz.
ἐποίησε · σ-	1492.31 and 73.(305/4).

ὁ δεῖνα ἐποίησεν . : Nomina Artificum

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
ἐποίησεν.	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
ἐποίησε.	c	1 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ^{3p}	-	-	-	1 ⁵	-	-	1 ¹²	1 ¹⁰	3 ¹²	-	-	1 ⁹
	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	2 ¹	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ⁵	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

f) ἐδίδασκε(ν) and ἤρχε(ν) : these verbs occur in the Choregic Monuments.

All instances of ἐδίδασκε(ν) are last word in the inscr.

All instances of ἤρχε(ν) are either last word in the inscr. or last word in a line with a full-stop - the only exception being ἤρχεν : K- . . . 3056.3.U.(320/19). I am therefore treating all exx. of ἤρχε(ν) as exx. not followed by another word.

The exx. are few and can be listed as follows:-

ἐδίδασκεν. 3056.3.U.(320/19); 3083.5.(271/0); 3088.4.(175/4).

ἐδίδασκε. 3078.4.(in.s.iii.π); 3079.4.(282/1); 3083.10.(271/0).

ἤρχεν. 3054.4.U.(323/2); 3083.1.(271/0); 1b.6; 3088.1.(175/4).

ἤρχε. 3055.2.U.(320/19); 3079.1.(282/1); 3081.1.(277/6).

[illegible]

CONSONANTS																										
Media										Orations																
No Nu										Nu																
In																										
										323-00					299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
DC	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U		
1	37	7	20	3	21	2	9	14	2	10	4	25	18	1												
2	8	-	2	-	10	5	7	5	1	7	2	-	1	-												
T	45	7	22	3	31	7	16	19	3	17	6	25	19	1												
a	10	2	6	5	5	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2												
3b	6	5	3	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	2	-	-												
c	-	-	-	-	2 ³ _{13a}	-	1 ⁶	3 ⁶	-	1 ⁵ ₂₈	1 ¹⁰	2 ¹²	1 ⁹ ₁₁	3 ^{9a}												
1	22	4	4	-	5	-	-	3	2	2	4	-	2	-												
2	2	-	-	-	3	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-												
T	24	4	4	-	8	1	-	5	2	3	4	-	2	-												
a	2	-	3	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-												
3b	-	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-												
c	-	-	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	1 ⁸	-	4 ¹²	-	1 ^{9a}												

Before turning to Nouns, Adjectives etc., I think it would be convenient to summarize all the preceding material in one Table. (I exclude exx. where there is no following word i.e. the relevant parts of d) and e) and the whole of f).)

VOWELS In Media Orat- ione	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
		T													
Nu	T	40	10	18	4	26	3	11	6	11	4	14	9	15	-
No Nu	T	3	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
BEFORE In Pausa	Nu	T	10	4	1	1	7	2	5	3	1	3	3	2	5
	No Nu	T	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	-
BEFORE In Media Orat- ione	Nu	T	59	7	28	3	38	7	23	20	23	17	16	25	28
	No Nu	T	27	6	5	-	9	1	-	5	12	3	4	-	2
BEFORE In Pausa	Nu	T	37	2	12	-	14	1	12	1	6	-	7	1	10
	No Nu	T	7	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The following conclusions can be drawn:-

1. The Ephehustic Nu is used frequently before consonants, and it is seldom omitted at the end of a phrase - only 9 exx. of Nu omitted in pausa - although there are many exx. of omission of Nu in media oratione.

		CONSONANTS													
		BEFORE													
		PAUSE													
		IN													
		ORATIONE													
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		IN													
		NU													
		ORATIONE													
		NU													
		MEDIA													
		NU													
		IN													
		NU													
		ORATIONE													
		NU													
		MEDIA													
		NU													
		IN													
		NU													

The following conclusions can be drawn:-

1. As with Verbs, Ephelkustic Nu with Nouns etc. is used frequently before consonants, and there is only 1 instance of omission in pausa.

2. There are no exx. of Hiatus at all.

N.B. For Adverbs in - Os(v), see I.E.3. above.

3. Verse Inscr.

a) Verbs: (i) before Vowels -ν is always inserted, since it is metrically necessary in any case.

(ii) before Consonants there is only 1 ex. where -ν is inserted unnecessarily viz. ἀμφέβαλεν πτ-

G.632.4.P.(in.s.iii.κ). In the cases where it is omitted the reason is always metrical e.g.

ἀπένειμε T-

G.1689.1.P.(pa.317/6.κ)

ἔμεινέ με

G.1821.3.P.(s.ii.κ).

b) Nouns, Adjectives etc.:

(i) before Vowels -ν is always inserted (metrically necessary).

(ii) before Consonants the reason for omission is always metrical e.g.

χοοντοισι θ-

G.1689.4.P.(pa.317/6.κ)

ἐμοῖσι φ-

G.1821.7.P.(s.ii.κ).

(iii) -ν is always inserted in the last foot of a verse

e.g. γονεῦσιν. |

G.1913.6.P.(in.s.iii.κ)

ἀμμιν |

G.632.5.P.(in.s.iii.κ)

δυσμενέσσιν |

G.40.1.(287/6).

4. a) Before 323 BC:

In the 5th. century the tendency is to omit the -ν in Verbs, even before a following Vowel. (The only exception is ἔδοξε, which always has the -ν.) This is also true of Nouns, Adjectives etc.

In the 4th. century after 360 BC ἐπεψήφισεν always has the -ν, and ἔρπονδισεν always has the -ν except in 227.6.(342/1) before a Consonant.

In the 4th. century after 400 BC

other Verbs: in media oratione:- -ν almost always inserted before Vowels, but about the same no. of instances of omission as insertion before Consonants.

in pausa:- -ν almost always inserted before Vowels and Consonants.

Nouns, Adjectives etc.: in media oratione:- -ν almost always inserted before Vowels, but more often omitted than inserted before Consonants.

in pausa:- not enough exx. to determine the usage.

b) After 146 BC:

ἔρπονδισεν and ἐπεψήφισεν never omit the -ν.

Other Verbs almost never omit the -ν - only 6 exx. of omission

in media oratione before Consonants.

Nouns, Adjectives etc. almost never omit the -ν - only the following exx. of omission:

in media oratione:- 6 exx. before Consonants; 1 ex. before Vowel.

in pausa:- 1 ex. before Consonant; 2 exx. before Vowels.

Therefore after 400 BC the tendency is to insert the Ephelkustic Nu.

Ev :-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
Unassimilated	1	1	6	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	T	3	6	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	a	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	3	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ⁶	-	-	1 ⁵	-	1 ¹²	-	-
Assimilated	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3bc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Ev :- all the exx. are State.

	DC	323-00	299-75	274-50	249-25	224-00	199-75	174-46
Unassimilated	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
	a	3	-	-	-	2	1	-
	3bc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assimilated	1	-	-	-	-	1	2	2
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
	T	1	-	-	-	1	2	4
	a	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
	3bc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

General (i.e. all other cases except the Article, \tilde{u} and \tilde{v}):- no instances of assimilation.

N.B. The only ex. of the combination in Verse is

$\tau\tilde{o}p$ p... G.1361.7.P.(p.179.s.)..

(ii) $v + \mu$.

The Article:-

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
Unassimilated	1	3	4	-	2	1	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	4	4	-	2	1	-	5	1	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
	a	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3b	3	3	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	-	1 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹²	-	-	-	-
Assimilated	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	T	2	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-
	a	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁶	1 ⁶	-	-	-	1 ⁷	-	-	-	-	-	-

čv :-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
Unassimilated	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assimilated	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-

čv :-

State: 6 instances, all assimilated čv viz. 1631,254.(323/2);

550.9.(p.314/3.h.); 903.4.(c.176/5); H.III.18,18.19.(169/8);

3215.2.(p.167/6.h.); H.III.68,62,2.(p.166.h.).

Sub-Unit: 6 instances, all assimilated čv viz. 1243,21.(p.245.s.);

1224.a.15.(p.245.s.); ib,17,21 and 24; ib,b,6.

Private: 1 instance, unassimilated čv viz.3779.18.(m.s.iii,x).

General:-

State: out of numerous instances there are only 4 exx. of assimilation

viz. čv [τ] čv viz. 1678.b.11.(a.315.h.)

δν :-

State: 11 instances, none of assimilation.

Sub-Unit: 8 instances, only 1 ex. of assimilation viz.

ὄταρ π- 1214.20.U.(300-250.π).

Private: no instances of combination.

δν :-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
Unassimilated	1	2	-	2	-	1	-	2	-	-	1	2	1	-	-
	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
	T	3	-	3	-	1	-	2	-	-	4	2	1	-	-
	a	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assimilated	1	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	3	-	10	4	4	-
	2	-	-	1	-	4	1	-	4	-	-	2	-	3	-
	T	4	-	1	-	5	1	1	4	3	-	12	4	7	-
	a	-	1	6	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	1 ⁵	-	-	1 ¹²	-	-

General:-

State: out of numerous instances there are only 9 exx. of assimilation

viz. ὄταρ π- 1631.403.(323/2)

τοῦταρ π- 1b.417

προσφορίλο|υταρ π- 1b.417-8.

ἀπὸ νεγροῦ κ-	1b.527-8
τορροῦ, κ-	1632.8.(323/2)
δοοῦ κ-	463.99.(307/6)
χρεῖοῦ κ-	673.b.10.(278/7)
δοῦ κ-	682.23.(c.256/5)
δοῦ κ-	1534.B.329.(247/6).

N.B. Apart from these securely dated exx. there are 45 exx. of assimilation in inscr. no. 1678, which is dated a.315.h. and may therefore not belong in the period at all. The exx. consist mainly of δυοῖν ποδῶν, τριῶν ποδῶν, τεττάρων ποδῶν.

There is also 1 other ex. of doubtful date viz.

εἰσελοῦσα κ-	696.5.(p.303/2.π).
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Sub-Unit: out of numerous instances there are only 3 exx. of assimilation viz.

δοημπερ	1231.12.(f.s.iv.π)
δοτεῖ κ-	1214.3.(300-250.π)
ἐ γλέγετε κ	1b.26-27.

Private: no instances of the combination.

N.B. There is 1 instance of the combination in a Verse inscr. viz.

τοῦ κ-	G.1691.7.P.(m.s.iii.π).
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(iv) υ + ω.

The Article:- there are no exx. of assimilation in State or Sub-Unit inscrr., and no instances of the combination in Private inscrr.

$\alpha\nu$:- there are no exx. of assimilation in State inserr., and no instances of the combination in Sub-Unit or Private inserr.

$\beta\nu$:- there are no instances of the combination.

General:-

State: out of numerous instances there is only 1 ex. of assimilation viz. $\delta\phi\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\mu$: ϕ - 1632.1.(323/2). It should be noted that 1632 contains many exx. of "general" assimilation, as does 1631. cf. (iii) above.

Sub-Unit: no instances of combination.

Private: no instances of combination.

(v) $\nu + \psi$.

The Article:-

State: all the instances are found in the formula $\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\nu\ \psi\eta\phi\omicron\nu\ \kappa\epsilon\lambda$. The instances are very numerous but there are only 2 exx. of assimilation viz.

$\tau\eta\mu\ \psi$ - H.IX.345.44.39.(319/8)

$\tau\eta\mu\ \psi$ - 696.6.(p.303/2.π).

Sub-Unit and Private: no instances of combination.

$\alpha\nu$:- no instances of combination.

$\beta\nu$:- no instances of combination.

General:- the only instance of the combination is State and is not assimilated.

Analysis of -v before Labials (excluding Verse inscrr.): the following Table is designed to show the frequency of assimilation.

		323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
	DC	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
Article	T	12	3	2	-	3	2	1	1	-	1	4	-	11	1
Ńv	T	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ėv	T	6	-	1	-	5	1	1	4	4	-	15	4	12	-
General	T	9	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The following conclusions may be drawn:

1. Ńv is very rarely assimilated.
2. "General" words are very rarely assimilated, except in the period 323-300 BC and especially in inscrr. 1631 and 1632.
3. Ėv is more frequently assimilated than not.
4. Instances of assimilation of the Article occur throughout, with the main periods of assimilation at the beginning and the end. But most exx. of the Article before Labials are unassimilated.

In short it can be said that assimilation is not common, except in the preposition Ėv .

N.B.1. Before 323 BC

a) v + β : several exx. of assimilation in Article.

a few exx. of assimilation in Ńv.

majority of exx. assimilated in Ėv .

1 exx. of "general" assimilation.

b) $\nu + \mu$: several exx. of assimilation in Article.

all exx. of $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ assimilated.

no instances of $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ at all.

several exx. of "general" assimilation.

c) $\nu + \pi$: several exx. of assimilation in Article.

a few exx. of assimilation in $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$.

most of exx. assimilated in $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$.

4 exx. of "general" assimilation.

d) $\nu + \phi$: a few exx. of assimilation in Article.

no other assimilation.

e) $\nu + \psi$: no exx. of combination.

This shows that before 323 BC there was a greater tendency to assimilate.

2. After 146 BC

a) $\nu + \rho$: all exx. in Article are unassimilated.

1 ex. of assimilation in $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$.

no other exx.

b) $\nu + \mu$: all exx. in Article are unassimilated.

1 ex. of assimilation in $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$.

no other exx.

c) $\nu + \pi$: almost all exx. in Article are unassimilated.

most exx. in $\tilde{\epsilon}\nu$ are assimilated.

no other exx.

d) $\nu + \phi$: no exx. of combination.

e) $\nu + \psi$: no exx. of combination.

This shows that after 146 EG the tendency is to leave - ν before Labials unassimilated except in the preposition $\delta\nu$.

b) Before Gutturals:

N.B. There are no instances of - ν before Gutturals in Private inscrs. except 1 ex. of $\delta\nu$ K-in a Verse inscr.: see (ii) below.

(i) $\nu + \gamma$:

The Articles:-

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
Unassimilated	1	5	1	5	1	4	4	6	-	7	-	7	2	9	-
	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	3	-	-	-
	T	7	1	5	1	4	4	7	1	8	1	10	2	9	-
	a	5	-	2	-	-	-	3	-	6	-	3	-	3	-
	3b	1	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	7	-	1	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	1 ³	1 ³	-	-	1 ⁸	-	1 ¹⁰ 1 ¹²	2 ¹²	1 ⁹	
Assimilated	1	1	-	-	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
	T	1	-	-	-	-	4	1	-	-	-	4	-	3	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-
	3b	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ¹²	-	-	-

αυ :- the only ex. of this combination is State and is not assimilated.

ευ :- no instances of combination.

General:- no exx. of assimilation.

(11) ν + κ.

The Article:-

State: there are no exx. of assimilation until after the end of the 3rd. century. There are 3 exx. in the 2nd. century viz.

τὸν κ- 900.24.(c.185/4); 909.21.(c.170.h.);
S.XVI.96.60.(164/3.gr.).

There is also 1 ex. of "false" assimilation viz.

τὸμ κ 521.5.(f.s.iv.f.)

This may well be a simple error. But it is just possible that the writer is doing his utmost to avoid assimilation which he considers to be "incorrect". To achieve this he writes μ instead of ν.

Sub-Unit: only 1 ex. of assimilation viz.

τὸν κ- 1214.6.(300-250.κ).

αυ :-

State: 6 instances of the combination; only 1 ex. of assimilation viz. ε]αυ κ- 1678.b.12.(a.315.h.).

Sub-Unit: 7 exx. of the combination; only 1 ex. of assimilation viz.

αυ κ- 1214.26.(300-250.κ).

ευ :-

State: 3 instances of the combination; 1 ex. of assimilation viz.

The following conclusions may be drawn:

1. ξv is never assimilated before Gutturals.
2. "General" words are very rarely assimilated; but see inscr.945.
3. Little can be concluded about ϵv since the combination occurs only 3 times.
4. Instances of assimilation of the Article occur throughout the period, with most exx. at the end.

In short, assimilation is not common.

N.B.1. Before 323 BC

- a) $v + \gamma$: several exx. of assimilation in Article, especially after the beginning of the 4th. century.

1 ex. of assimilation in ϵv .

1 ex. of "general" assimilation.

no instances of ξv .

- b) $v + \pi$: several exx. of assimilation in Article, mostly in the 4th. century.

most of exx. assimilated in ϵv .

several exx. of "general" assimilation in the 4th century.

no instances of ξv .

- c) $v + \chi$: several exx. of assimilation in Article, mostly in the 4th. century.

all exx. of ϵv assimilated.

2 exx. of "general" assimilation.

no instances of $\xi\nu$.

This shows a greater tendency to assimilate.

2. After 146 BC : there are no exx. of assimilation in any of the combinations.

c) Before Sigma:

There are 2 exx. of $\xi\nu$ assimilated to $\xi\varsigma$ before sigma viz.

$\xi\varsigma$ στήλας [ι 706.8.(in.s.iii.κ)

$\xi\varsigma$ στήλητι S.XIV.68.21.(214/3).

There are parallels to this in the 4th century before 323 BC.

2. Nu in middle of word.

a) Before Labials:

(1) $-\nu\beta-$.

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
-μβ-	1	4	1	2	-	7	1	6	-	3	-	5	3	7	-
	2	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
	T	4	1	2	-	9	1	7	-	3	-	7	3	8	-
	a	2	1	2	-	2	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-
	α	-	-	-	-	1 ³ 1 ^{3p}	-	3 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹¹	

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
		1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
-v β-	2	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹²	-	-

(ii) -v|μ- .

State: 29 exx. of -μ|μ- ; only 1 ex. of -v|μ- viz.

συνημῶν 467.10.(306/5).

Sub-Unit: 2 exx. of -μ|μ- ; none of -v|μ- .

Private: 3 exx. of -μ|μ- ; none of -v|μ- .

(iii) -v|π- .

-1876-

DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
1	10	-	10	-	10	-	10	-	5	-	14	-	12	-
2	4	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-
T	14	-	11	-	10	-	12	-	5	-	16	-	14	-
a	5	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
3b	2	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
c	-	-	-	-	1 ^{3a}	-	1 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Analysis of non-assimilation before Labials: the following Table is designed to show the frequency of non-assimilation.

	DO	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
-vβ-	T	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
-vμ-	T	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-vπ-	T	6	-	4	-	2	-	3	2	1	1	3	-	-	-
-vφ-	T	2	2	3	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	2	-	-
Totals	T	10	3	8	-	3	1	4	2	2	1	6	3	-	-

Conclusion: non-assimilation of Nu before Labials in the middle of a word is comparatively infrequent.

N.B.1. Before 323 BC

- a) -vπ- : more exx. unassimilated than assimilated.
- b) -vβ- : several exx. unassimilated in the 4th. century.
- c) -vμ- : only 3 exx. unassimilated, all in the 5th. century.

2. After 146 BC

- a) -vπ- : more exx. unassimilated than assimilated.
- b) -vβ- : only 1 ex. unassimilated.
- c) -vμ- : 1 ex. unassimilated; 1 ex. assimilated.

Therefore the combination which shows least assimilation in all periods is -vπ- .

(v) Dissimilation before Labials.

This occurs in a combination of μ plus a labial in the middle of a word, when the writer, in trying to show his knowledge, merely displays his ignorance, since it is obvious that he believes he is leaving a ν unassimilated. cf. b.(iv) below.

 ν replaces μ before β :

State: 2 exx. viz. $\Delta\epsilon\beta\nu\beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 494.9.(303/2)

but cf. $\Delta\epsilon\beta\mu\beta\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 493.9.(303/2).

[$\Pi\alpha$] $\nu\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$ II.XXX.218.15.18.(p.245.s.)

but there are many exx. of $\Pi\alpha\beta\alpha\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$.

Sub=Unit and Private: none.

 ν replaces μ before μ :

State and Sub=Unit: none.

Private: 1 ex. viz. $\kappa\epsilon\mu\rho\nu\nu\mu\alpha\iota$ G.1601.6.F.(in.s.iii.κ).

 ν replaces μ before π :

State: 7 exx., 6 of $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\alpha\tau-$ for $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\tau-$:

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\alpha\tau[\eta][\varsigma]$ 381.3.(320/19)

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu[\nu\pi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma]$ 448.1-2.(318/7)

but cf. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\eta\varsigma$ 669.2.(289/8) etc.

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\alpha\tau[\epsilon\iota]$ II.X.268.69.4.(319/8.anag.)

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\alpha[\tau\eta\iota]$ II.II.398.18.6.(307/6)

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\alpha\tau[\epsilon\iota]$ S.XVI.77.3.(193/2)

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota$ II.III.21.19.3.(166/5)

but cf. $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\mu\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota$ 654.6.(285/4) etc.

*ΟΛΥΝΠΙΔΟΟ [ς	2326.13.(a.264.π).
Sub-Unit: 6 exx. viz.	
*ΚΕΝΥΠΕΙ	1362.a.2.(f.s.1v.π).
*ΚΟΥΠΗΝ	1283.6.(263/2)
*ΚΟΥΠΗ[ν	1b.14.
but cf. *ΚΟΥΠΗΝ	1b.11. etc.
*ΚΟΥΠΗΣ	1247.7.(m.s.iii.π)
but cf. *ΚΟΥΠΗΣ	1b.24.
*ΚΕΝΥΠΕΙΝ	1283.6-7.(263/2)
but cf. *ΚΕΝΥΠΕΙΝ	1b.11.
*ΟΛΥΝΠΙΧΟΣ	1958.16.(p.m.s.iii.π)
but cf. *ΟΛΥΠΙΧΟΣ	2354.18.(f.s.iii.π).
Private: 1 ex. viz. *ΚΕΝΥΠΤΟΥ	4675.5.(m.s.iii.π).

ν replaces μ before φ :

State: 2 exx. viz. *ΣΥΝΥΠΟΝ[φφ]ΣΑΣ	463.77.(307/6)
*ΣΥΝΥΠΟΝ	1485.54.(307/6).
Sub-Unit: 1 ex. viz. *ΑΝΦΙΔΥΝΑΞ	1954.5.(306/5).
Private: none.	

W.B.1. Before 323 BC there are a few exx. of ν replacing μ before π and φ e.g.

*ΚΟΥΠΕΣ	I ² .84.26.(421/0)
*ΑΝΦΩΝΑ[ς]ΝΟΙ	I ² .195.22.(450/49) (φσ = ψ)
*ΟΛΥΝΠΙΩΙ	1257.B.6.U.(324/3)
*ΝΟΥΦΩΙΣ	4545.F.(o.400.π).

2. After 146 BC there are a few exx. of ν replacing μ before β , π and ϕ e.g.

Πανβωτάδης	1721.8.(14/13)
Αανπτρεύς	2338.19.U.(27/6 - 18/7)
ἐνφανίζετ	1046.11.(52/1).

3. Perhaps the most striking feature of this phenomenon is the fact that it is not prevalent in Private inscr., where one would have expected it. It can not, therefore, be put down to an inferior level of literacy on the part of the drafter or inscriber.

It is also interesting to note that the commonest ex. is ν replacing μ before π . This is in accord with the prevalence of $-\nu\pi-$ being left unassimilated. (see (iii) above.)

b) Before Gutturals:

(i) $-\nu\gamma-$.

State: 5 exx. of $-\gamma\gamma-$; 3 exx. of $-\nu\gamma-$ viz.

αυνγον [φώ]σας	463.77.(307/6)
το]ύς ἐνγρ[478.10.(305/4)
οἱ ἐνγρσφ[1b.11.

Sub-Unit: 2 exx. $-\gamma\gamma-$; 1 ex. of $-\nu\gamma-$ viz.

ἐνγ[υ]ητάς	1168.3.(s.iii.?π).
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Private: none.

(ii) -v%— .

		323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
	DO	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
-γ%—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	12	—
	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
	T	1	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	—	2	—	1	12	—
	a	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—
	3b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 ⁶	—	—	—	—	—	—
-v%—	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—
	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	T	2	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—
	a	2	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
	3b	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	c	—	1 ¹	—	—	1 ³ 1 ^{3p}	—	—	—	1 ⁸	—	—	—	—	—

Private: 9 exx. of παγκράτ- , 1 ex. of πανκράτιον viz.

4667.1.(s.iv/iii.π).

2 exx. in Verse inscrr. viz.

ἀνένκλητον

G.1689.3.P.(pa.317/6.π)

παγκρατ [έσιν]

G.748.a.4.P.(s.iii.π).

(iii) -v%— .

State and Private: none.

Sub-Unit: 1 ex., unassimilated viz.

συνχαρήσοντα [ι

1224.a.18.(p.245.s.).

Analysis of non-assimilation before Gutturals:

		323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
	DC	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
-vγ-	T	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-vκ-	T	2	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-
-vχ-	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Totals	T	5	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-

Conclusion: non-assimilation of Nu before Gutturals in the middle of a word is uncommon.

N.B.1. Before 323 BC

a)-vγ- : a few exx., mostly in the 5th century.

b)-vκ- : several exx., mostly in the 4th century.

2. After 146 BC

a)-vκ- : only 1 ex.

b)-vχ- : only 1 ex.

The overall picture in all periods therefore is one of little non-assimilation.

(iv) Dissimilation before Gutturals. (cf. a.(v) above.)

Here the dissimilation is probably orthographical since early Greek inscriptions use ν instead of γ for the guttural nasal e.g. ὀνυγός I².974.2.P.(c.600.π). But it may also be the case that the writer mistakenly believes that he is leaving a Nu unassimilated in the middle of a compound.

ν replaces γ before γ :

State: 12 exx.

ἐπ]ανγέλλε[τ][αι	H.VIII.31.8.21.(318/7)
ἐξανγελθε[ντων	652.8.(c.286/5)
ἀπανγελοῦσι	653.46.(285/4)
ἐπ[α]νγέλλεται	654.30-31.(285/4)
παρ'ανγελ[672.25.(279/8.h.)
παρ'ανγγελόμενα	665.11.(266/5)
ἀπανγγέλλουσιν	992.13.(s.ii.κ)
ἀπήγγε[ιλαν	S.XVI.92.15.(173/2)
but cf. ἀπαγγέλ[661.7.(267/6) etc.
Θεανγγελεῖς	1956.98.(c.300.κ)
but cf. Θεαγγελίδης	2332.212.(183/2).
'Ανγγελῆθε[ν]	665.48.(266/5)
but cf. 'Αγγελῆθεν	847.7.(215/4) etc.
Προάγγελος	S.XIV.66.3.(c.m.s.iii.κ)
but cf. Θεάγγελος	913.24.(c.200.κ).
ο]τρωνγύλη	1470.17.(c.320.κ)
but cf. στρογγύλον	1534.A.98.(292/1.κ).

Sub-Unit: 1 ex.

παρ'ανγγελλέτουςαν *	1299.40.(pp.236/5)
but cf. ἀπαγγελλέαν	1235.7.(c.248/7.κ). etc.
(* For ο written for ω : see OR.I.B.)	

Private: 1 ex.

Εδανγέ<λ>ου	8301.(p.f.s.iv.κ)
but cf. Προαγγέλου	10,352.(s.iii.κ).

of. also 1 ex. in Verse viz.

ὁπενγής

G.1913 7.P.(in.s.iii.κ).

ν replaces γ before κ :

State: 8 exx.

ὀνκύρας

1631.673.(323/2)

but cf. ὀγκύρας

ib.265 and 276.

ὀνκοινα

1479.52 and 60.(312/11).

περ [ε] ενκεντρίσει

463.62.(307/6).

[ὀ] νικ(λ)ητῶν

1487.95.(306/5).

ὀκοπεφὀνκωσιν

II.S.I.44.9.16.(in.s.iii.κ).

*Αγκυλῆθεν

H.VII.110.20.30.(258/7)

but cf. *Αγκυλαῖς

678.20.(256/5).

[ὀ] πενενκεῖν

793.15.(p.255.h.)

but cf. εἰσῆνεγκεν

834.22.(pp.229.h.) etc.

Sub-Unit: 3 exx.

ὀνῆνεγκων

1209.10.(p.319.κ)

εἰσενενκεῖν

1311.8.(c.f.s.iii.κ)

but cf. εἰσε|νεγμεῖν

1322.7-8.(p.179.s.)

εἰσῆνεγκεν

1329.10.(175/4).

Private: 9 exx.

*Αγκυλῆθεν

5257.(s.iii.κ); 5249.(c.s.iii.κ);

5243.(s.ii.κ); 5253.(c.s.ii.κ).

but cf. *Αγκυλῆθεν

5241.(f.s.iv.κ) etc.

*Αγκυραῖτης

7921.(s.iii/ii.κ)

*Αγκυρανός

7923.(s.iii/ii.κ); 7905.(p.179.s.)

*Αγκυρανοῦ

8671.(s.iii/ii.κ)

but cf. Ἀγκυρανός 7928.(p.f.s.iv.π).
 Ἀγκ[υρ]α [νή] 7896.(p.197.s.)
 but cf. Ἀγκυρανή 7894.(p.f.s.iv.π) etc.

cf. also 1 ex. in Verse viz.

ἀνάνκης G.1759.3.P.(300-250.π).

ν replaces γ before χ :

State: 3 exx.

περιτυγχάνουσιν 657.29.(283/2)
 but cf. περιτυγχάν[777.14.(252/1).
 λανχ [ά]νοντες 659.9-10.(283/2).
 ἐντυγχάνουσιν 850.6.(197/6)
 but cf. ἐντυγχάνουσιν 945.12.(168/7).

Sub-Unit: 5 exx.

λανχάνοντες 1263.39.(300/299)
 λαν[χ]άνοντα 1232.17.(f.s.iv.π)
 τυγχάνειν 1299.73.(pp.236/5)
 λανχάνουσαι 1328.6.(183/2)
 λανχάνουσα ib.16.
 but cf. λαγχανουσῶν 1314.11.(213/2) etc.

Private: 2 exx.

*Επιτυγχάνων | *Επιτυγχάνοντος 10,005.(s.ii.π)
 but cf. *Επιτυγχάνων 10,421.(s.iii.π).

cf. also 1 ex. in Verse viz.

ἀνχιόλου G.1466.3.P.(m.s.iii.π).

N.B.1. Before 323 BC, mostly in the 4th century, there are a few exx. of ν replacing γ before γ , π and χ e.g.

ἔχουσεν κέτο	I ² .76.61.(423/2)
ἱλανγών	12,461.P.(p.m.s.iv.π)
παρὰ τὸν χῶ ναι	226.11.(c.343/2).

2. After 146 BC there are a few exx. of ν replacing γ before γ , π and χ e.g.

ἱπανγέλλει	1042.1.(?41/0)
*ἀνκυρανός	7890.P.(s.ii/i.π) etc.
*ἐπιτυγχάνων	11,299.P.(s.ii/i.π).

3. As with Labials, so with Gutturals it is noteworthy that the phenomenon is not predominantly "Private".

c) Before other Consonants:

(i) - $\nu\lambda$ -

State: 11 exx. of - $\lambda\lambda$ - ; 1 ex. of - $\nu\lambda$ - viz.

συνλογῆς	H.S.I.74.29.19.(228/7).
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Sub-Unit: no exx. of - $\lambda\lambda$ - ; 4 exx. of - $\nu\lambda$ - viz.

ἐνλείπων	S.XV.113.9.(215/4)
ἐνλείπουσα	1315.12.(211/0)
ἐνλέλοιπεν	1329.6.(175/4)
συνλειτουργῶν	1b.15.

Private: none.

(ii) - $\nu\sigma$ - : there is only 1 ex. of restoration of ν before

viz. συνστάλω|σιν 1329.11.U!(175/4).

d) False Assimilation before 0 :

1 ex. viz. [H]αμδτονίδος 654.2.(285/4)

The form was probably influenced by Παρρωτάδατ .

SECTION 3.

MORPHOLOGY.I. Declension.

A. Nouns: Note that I have not included forms which occur in Verse inscrr. for purely metrical or "poetical" purposes e.g. ἑλάντοιο; ἀρετῶς, σοφίης.

1. First Declension.a) Feminines:-

(i) The form τῶν λεπειῶν occurs in 1298.13.U.(247/6)

ἀναγράφειν δὲ καὶ (sc. τὰ ὀνόματα) τῶν λεπειῶν

where IG notes: "hanc formam doricam defendere studet G.Fraenkel, Glotta II.33." Fraenkel's argument is that λεπειῶν would have been pronounced in the same way as λεπέων from λεπεύς. Also λεπέων could have been written λεπεῖων since there are several exx. of intrusion of the intervocalic iota; and λεπειῶν could have been written λεπεῶν since the intervocalic iota is often omitted. He thinks, therefore, that to avoid misunderstanding the regular form has been replaced by one not morphologically justified, and he compares Latin deabus, filiabus, and Greek ἡ θεός, τὸ θεῶ but τοῖς ὁῶδεκα θεοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς θεαῖς.

Unless we accept this experiment as the explanation, there is admittedly no other explanation except simple error of inscription. But the idea certainly did not catch on: cf. e.g.

τοῦ ἐποφάντου καὶ τῶν λεπειῶν 949.10.(165/4),

where there could have been just as much misunderstanding.

(ii) For Ἀθηναῖ, see PH.I.D.1.

b) Masculines:-

(i) Proper Nouns in -δης, -της and -ινης

State: the genitive is always in -ου (111 exx.) e.g.

Θρασυκλείδου	373.21.(322/1)
Λυσιάδου	1938.1.(152/1).
Νικηίου	847.44.(215/4)
Εδεργέτου	S.XVI.95.1.(164/3).
Αισχίνου	H.XVII.3.3.8.(244/3).

the accusative is always in -ην (25 exx.) e.g.

Πολλιάδην	488.11.(304/3)
Ε]ελτιάδην	958.24.(154/3).
Νικηίτην	847.44.(215/4); 3857.3.(p.m.s.iii*).

Sub-Unit: the genitive is always in -ου (33 exx.) e.g.

Θιλωτιάδου	1955.4.(c.320.π)
Λυσιάδου	H.XI.295.58.1.(152/1).
Εδεργέτου	1230.2.(f.s.iv.π)
Νικηίου	S.XV.112.4.(225/4).
Αισχίνου	1b.31; 1322.23.(p.179.s.).

the accusative is always in -ην (10 exx.) e.g.

Θιλωνίδην	1159.16.(303/2) - 1236.15.(a.m.s.ii.π).
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Private: -δης : 87 exx. of genitive in -ου e.g.

Προκλείδου	5346.(pa.317/6.π)
Βουτιάδου	5913.(c.s.ii.π).

2 exx. of -ους viz.

Θωκιάδους	6051.(p.m.s.iii.π)
Θιλωτιάδους *	8869.(s.iii.π)

(* For the possible omission of the intervocalic
iota, see PH.I.D.3.b.(i).)

1 ex. of accusative, in -ην viz.

Καρνεάδην 3781.1.(p.179.s.).

-της and -της :

11 exx. of genitive in -ου e.g.

Νικητήτου 8849.(p.f.s.iv.κ)

Αιγινιήτου 7951.(s.ii.κ).

Αισχίνου 7611.(s.iii.κ); 9027.(s.ii.κ).

1 ex. of the Doric genitive in -α viz.

Σαμ[ί]ων | Τελέστα | Κορίνθιος
9073.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

No exx. of accusative.

1 ex. of vocative viz.

Ἀμμωνίτα 8075.(p.197.s.).

N.B.1. The only 2 exx. of -ους instead of -ου are Private.

cf. 3.d.(i) and (ii) below.

2. Before 323 BC the genitive is almost always in -ου .

But cf. Νουφράδους 1700.147.(335/4);

Καλλιόδους 5414.P.(m.s.iv.κ);

Ἀλκιδόδους 7277.P.(m.s.iv.κ).

3. After 146 BC the genitive is always in -ου .

(ii) Proper Nouns in -τας / -εας :

State: the genitive is always in -ου (96 exx.) e.g.

Δημίδου 380.8.(320/19)

*Ανδρός 958.64.(154/3).

the accusative is always in -ον (7 exx.) e.g.

*Αμεινίαν 665.24.(266/5)

Καλλίαν H.IX.122.24.77.(165-150.*).

(N.B. For Αμεινιάδα (gen.), see 3.d.(1) N.B.2 below.)

Sub-Unit: the genitive is always in -ου (20 exx.) e.g.

Αυσίου 1955.8.(c.320.*)

*Ιππίου H.IX.356.50.1.(181/0).

the accusative is always in -αν (5 exx.) e.g.

Καλλίαν 2936.3.(f.s.iv.κ)

Νικίαν 1317.b.11.(248/7).

Private: the genitive is always in -ου (53 exx.) e.g.

Θαιόριου 6215.(ps.317/6.κ)

Κικίου 9088.(s.ii.κ).

1 ex. of accusative viz. Αυσίαν 3862.1.(s.iii.κ).

(N.B. For the distribution of the suffixes - ιαδ / - εαδ,
see WF.I.A.)

2. Second Declension.

a) Nouns in -ος and -ον .

(i) For τοῦ δήμου 530.7.(f.s.iv.κ), see OR.I D.

(ii) For Ευλωρῶ. 1261.24.U.(302/1)

and τοῦ | πολινῶ. 1b.20-21.(301/300)

see OR.I.C.

For Μαλθακίον(ν) etc. in 1534.B.(247/6), see OR.I.C.

(iii) ὅς is always declined as a Second Declension in -ος

e.g. ὅς	682.4.(c.256/5)
ὅν	498.b.16.(303/2.h.)
ὅ	682.57.(c.256/5)
ὅ	844.65.(193/2)
ὅν	2332.6.(183/2)
ὅς	1236.3.U.(a.m.s.ii.κ).

N.B.1. Before 323 BC there are the following forms:-

Singular: Nom. ὅς ; Acc. ὅν ; Gen. ὅ / ὅος

Plural : Nom. ὅες ; Acc. ὅες.

After 146 BC the forms are all Second Declension.

2. In G.1466.1.P.(m.s.iii.κ) an hexameter ends ὅ (acc.)

Ἀσπίνης . But this form is used to satisfy the metre.

3. For ὅς , see PH.I.D.4.

(iv) There are the following exx. of the Dual:-

ὅ (acc.) H.XXIX.40.50.2.(a.m.s.iii.κ);
2944.11.U.(s.iii.κ)

cf. περὶ τῷ ὅ 1236.12.U.(a.m.s.ii.κ).

τοῖν ὅ (gen.) 1191.11.U.(321/0).

(* For ω > ωι , see PH.I.1.g.(ii).)

περὶ γόμοις (dat.) 1685.B3.13.(in.s.iii.κ).

N.B. For ἡ ὅ / ἡ ὅ , see VO.I.H.

b) Contracted Nouns.

πλῶ 1631.168.(323/2)

πλοῦν ib.259.

πανοῦν 896.11.(186/5).

N.B. For the adjective εὔνους, see C.1.c. below.

c) Attic Second Declension.

The accusative singular always ends in - ω, never - ων e.g.

Ἠγησίλειω τὸν δῆμαρχον 1202.13-14.U.(313/2); ib.20.

τὸν νεώ 657.70.(283/2)

τὸν τε νεώ 1325.21.U.(185/4)

cf. in Verse τόνδε νεώ. 2948.1.V.U.(in.s.ii.π).

The genitive singular usually ends in - ω e.g.

Ἀρχένεω 1631.434.(323/2); ib.471,

496 and 611; 1632.36.(323/2);

ib.233 and 247. etc.

but cf. Ἀρχε|νέου 839.9-10.(226/5).

Κλεόλειω 665.48.(266/5)

Φιλόνεω 765.2.(246/5).

N.B. For νεωπολιός/ναοπολιός, see VO.I.G.

3. Third Declension.

a) Dental Stems of Nouns in - τις .

The proper noun Σώπολις gives

accusative Σώπολιν 1631.371.(323/2)

genitive Σωπόλιδος ib.365.

cf. adjective φιλόπολις : acc. - πολιν, gen. - πόλιδος .

b) Stems in - ν .

The accusative of Ποσειδῶν is Ποσειδῶ : 951.11.(167/6).

c) Syncopated Stems in - ερ .

accusative: θυγατέρα 1165.30.U.(300-250.π); 896.
10.(186/5).

πατέρα 1b.9, 14, 23.

but cf. τὴν Δημήτρα 1261.19.U.(302/1).

Note that this is the usual form in oaths in treaties e.g.

ἀληθεῖ ταῦτα νῆ τοῖς [ν] Δία καὶ τοὺς Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν
Δημήτρα 97.23-24.(375/4)

and also in literary prose.

genitive: θυγατρὸς 1165.33.U.(300-250.π)
πατρὸς 1b.37; 2334.51.(m.s.ii.π).

d) Stems in - ες .

(1) Proper Nouns in - κλέος .

Genitive - κλέους		323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
	DC	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
	1	32	1	1	7	2	-	10	2	1	13	1	-	4	-	-	11	4	-	9	2	-
	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
	T	32	1	1	8	2	-	10	2	1	14	1	-	4	2	-	12	4	-	9	2	-
	a	3	1	13	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	4	-	-
	3b	1	1	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-
	c	-	3 ²	5 ¹	-	-	-	9 ³	-	2 ³	-	-	-	1 ⁸	2 ⁵	10 ⁵	-	1 ¹²	2 ¹⁰	-	-	12 ¹¹
															1 ⁸	3 ⁷		7 ¹²				
																5 ⁸						

	DC	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
Genitive - κλέου	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	6	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	a	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ³	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹²	-	-	-	-

The preceding Table shows a distinct preference for -κλέουσ.

It is interesting to note that the 3 exx. of κλέου in the period 274-250 BC all belong to the same inscr. viz. 678.(256/5); also that in the period 249-225 BC 3 of the exx. belong to 681.(249/8) and the other 3 exx. to 1534.B.(247/6). This confines 9 of the 11 securely dated exx. to the period 256/5 - 247/6 BC.

N.B.1. 1 ex. of genitive in -έος viz.

*Ἡρακλέος 4986.1.?.(p.221.s.)

and 1 ex. of -οῦς viz.

*Ἡρακλοῦς 1247.18.U.(m.s.iii.κ).

cf. PH.I.A.3.d.

2. 1 ex. of -κλέα viz.

Βούλαρχος Δαμοκλέα *Ἀκαμαν/μικαίειδος φυλῆς

2316.30-31.(c.166/5.κ)

This form shows a Doric genitive in -α, borrowed from the first declension. Note too that the name is in the Doric form Δαμο-

rather than Attic Δημο-

3. For -κλέτους, see PH.I.D.6.b.(v).

4. Before 323 BC and after 146 BC the genitive is almost always in -ους.

Accusative:

State: 30 exx. of -κλήν

1 ex. of -κλέα viz.

Προκλέα H.S.I.52.11.6.(m.s.iii.κ).

Sub-Unit: 4 exx. of -κλήν

2 exx. of -κλέα viz.

Εὐκλέα * 2976.13.(in.s.iii.κ)

Δημο|κλέα 1277.34-35.(278/7)

(* of PH.I.D.6.b.(1).)

Private: none.

N.B.1. Before 323 BC the accusative is always -κλέα.

2. After 146 BC the accusative is always -κλήν.

Dative: always -κλέϊ.

Vocative: only 1 ex. viz. Τηλέκλεες G.1550.3.P.(167/6), where the uncontracted form is used for metrical reasons.

(ii) Proper Nouns in -ης.

		323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		DO	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P		
Genitive - ους	1	21	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	T	22	5	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	5	-	-	
	a	2	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	
	3b	3	-	4	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
	c	-	-	1 ¹	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	1 ^{3p}	-	-	-	1 ⁵	2 ⁵	-	-	-	-	-	3 ¹¹	
	Genitive - ου	1	7	2	-	9	1	-	20	2	-	29	2	-	2	3	-	9	7	-	22	1
2		-	-	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	
T		7	2	-	10	1	-	23	3	-	30	2	-	2	3	-	11	7	-	22	1	-
a		-	3	21	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	-
3b		7	2	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
c		-	-	1 ¹	-	-	-	3 ³	1 ³	1 ³	1 ⁶	1 ⁶	1 ⁶	1 ⁵	1 ⁷	1 ⁷	5 ⁷	-	8 ¹⁰	3 ¹²	5 ⁹	1 ⁹

Unlike Nouns in -ης, there is a distinct preference for -ου rather than -ους. I suggest that the reason for this is that Third Declension Nouns in -ης are more easily influenced by the analogy of First Declension Nouns in -ος, -ης and -ους, which show 229 exx. of -ου and only 2 exx. of -ους. (see 1.b.(i) above.)

N.B.1. 13 of the 21 Category 1 exx. of -ου in State inscrr. in the period 323-300 BC come from only 2 inscrr. viz, 1631 and 1632,

both date 323/2.

2. Before 323 BC all State exx. show - ους . The earliest exx. of -ου are Ἀριστοκράτο 1176.22.U.(c.360.π)

Σωκράτου 7319.P.(a.m.s.iv.π)

Διογένου 5622.P.(p.m.s.iv.π).

3. After 146 BC the vast majority of exx. shows - ου , although there are several exx. of - ους .

4. 1 ex. in Verse viz. Φιλοκράτους | Εὐ- G.600.2.P.(s.iii/ii.π). Here the sigma is necessary for metrical reasons.

Accusative: all exx. are in - ην e.g.

Δημοκράτην 1631.249.(323/2)

Νικογένην 956.40.(161/0)

Θεογένην 1955.15.U.(c.320.π)

Καλλιτέλην 1322.22.U.(p.179.s.)

[Με]νεκράτην 3856.1.P.(p.m.s.iii.π).

Dative: always in - ει .

e) Stems in - ο or - ω .

(i) ἥρως gives the forms

genitive sing. ἥρωος 839.17.(221/0); 1b.54.

dative sing. ἥρωι 2499.25.U.(306/5); 839.1.(221/0);
1b.48.

dative plural τοῖς ἥρωσι 1247.6.U.(m.s.iii.π).

(ii) Καλλιτοῦ gives genitive Καλλιτοῦς 3109.2.U.(in.s.iii.π).

f) Stems in a Vowel or Diphthong.

(1) Stems in -ευ

Singular: accusative in -εα e.g.

α]τροφέα 463.77.(307/6)

Πειραιέα H.XXX.12.8.12.(p.179.s.)

Φυλέα 1163.16.U.(284/3).

N.B.1. For -εα > -α, see PH.I.A.3.a.

2. For Πειρα(ι)εύς, see PH.I.D.1.a.(ii),(iii),(iv) and (v).

genitive in -εως e.g.

δ]ναγραφέως 378.1.(321/0)

Σονιῶς 7425.P.(pa.317/6.π)

N.B.1. For ο written for ου, see OR.I.C.

2. For -εω > -ω, see PH.I.A.3.e.

dative in -ει e.g.

Πειραιεῖ 850.3.(197/6).

Plural: nominative in -εις e.g.

Φλυεῖς 665.42.(266/5)

Πειραιεῖς 2498.2.U.(321/0).

N.B. There are no exx. of -ῆς. Before 323 BC the predominant form down to c.350 BC is -ῆς. One of the earliest exx. of -εῖς is Κυθαθηναεῖς 1740.21.(a.388/7.π). From c.350 - 323 BC -εῖς becomes commoner than -ῆς. One also finds -έες e.g.

Καλκιδέες I².39.57.(446/5)

Εἰκαδέες 1258.8.U.(324/3).

accusative in -εις e.g.

[τ][οὺς βα]σιλεῖς	495.20.(303/2)
τοὺς ἑκκατῆς	680.12.(249/8)
τοὺς ἑρπείδεις	1214.23.U.(300-250.π)

N.B. There are no exx. of -έας. Before 323 BC the form is always -έας.

After 146 BC both nominative and accusative show -εῖς.

genitive in -ων e.g.

βασιλέων	558.13.(c.303/2.h.)
Ἀλκιωνέων	1201.5.U.(p.317.h.).

N.B. For -εω > -ω, see PH.I.A.3.e.

dative in -ουσι(ν) e.g.

βασιλευσιν	687.37.(265/4)
Θιαλευσιν	1b.39.
Καφνευσιν	1b.39.
Ἀλκιωναυσιν	1202.2 and 3.U.(313/2)
Λαμπρεῖσιν	1204.2-3.U.(f.s.iv.π)
Πετραευσιν	1214.7.U.(300-250.π).

(ii) Stems in -υ.

ναῦς gives the forms

ταῖς ναῦς	682.9.(c.256/5)
τῶν νεῶν	1b.6.
ταῖς ναυσὶν	1b.16.

βοῦς gives accusative sing. βοῦν 466.b.23.(307/6.h.).

g) Irregulars.

"Αρης gives accusative "Αρη 687.54.(265/4)
dative "Αρει 948.12.(166/5.gr.)

κρέας gives heteroclite accusative plural
τὰ κρέα 1247.9.U.(m.s.iii.π).

B. Locative Endings.

1. - Οεν.

State: numerous exx. of -Οεν e.g.

'Αλωπειῆθεν 460.6.(307/6)

Περγασῆθεν 950.6.(165/4).

only 6 exx. of -Οε : these can be divided into those which
are in Hiatus - see PH.I.E.3 - and those which are not:-

"Οαθε * ὀφθα[λ]μοῖ 1534.B.253.(247/6)

"Οαθε ἐκ τῶν τύπων 1b.267.

νοτῶθε : ὀδῶς 1588.11.(in.s.iii.π).

τῶν ἐμ[π]ροσθε χρόνων 654.13.(285/4)

δκισθε τῆς οὐ[ρας] 1534.A.93.(292/1.π)

'Οῆθε II 1b.B.269.(247/6).

N.B. The exx. in 1534 and 1588 are probably due to a desire to
abbreviate.

Other exx. of -Οεν are:- 'Αγγελῆθεν, 'Αγκυλῆθεν,
'Αγρυλῆθεν, 'Αθήνηθεν, 'Αμφιτροπῆθεν, Εωτῆθεν,

'Εκαλήθεν, 'Εστιαιόθεν, Κεφαλήθεν, Κολωνήθεν,
 Κονουλήθεν, 'Οήθεν, "Θαθεν.
 Βορρῦθεν, Ξνδοθεν, Ξντεῦθεν, Ξξωθεν, Ξπάνωθεν,
 Ὀπισθεν, Πατρόθεν.

Sub-Unit: -θεν : 'Εκαλήθεν, Κολωνήθεν, Κονουλήθεν.
 Βορρῦθεν, Ξμπροσθεν, νοτόθεν.

- θε : only 1 ex. viz.

τοῖς Ξμπρο[σ]θε κ[ρ]όνοις

1304.24.(pp.211/10).

N.B. For Ξμπροσθε , see PH.II.F.2.a.(iii).

Private: -θεν : 'Αγγελήθεν, 'Αγκυλήθεν, 'Αγρυλήθεν,
 'Αλωπεκήθεν, 'Αμφιτροπήθεν, 'Εστιαιόθεν, Κεφαλήθεν,
 Κολωνήθεν, 'Οήθεν, Περγασήθεν, "Θαθεν.

- θε : none.

2. - θε: τῆς ἁλαθς ἐλάσε[ως] 847.20.(215/4)
 'Ελευστῖνάδε 1191.18.U.(321/0); 1193.5.U.
 (f.s.iv.✱); 1680.3.(f.s.iv.✱).

3. -σι : 'Αθήνησιν 505.11.(302/1); H.VIII.35.9.29.(303/2.✱).

cf. demes e.g.

Λεξωνῆσι 1200.7.U.(317/6)

'Αμφιτροπήσι 1587.14.(f.s.iv.✱).

C. Adjectives.1. Adjectives of First and Second Declensions.

a) Compound Adjectives of 2 Terminations:

State: ἰσοδότημος	e.g. διφθοῦραι ἰσοδότημοι	1631.256.(323/2)
ἀνεπίγραφος	e.g. χεῖρ ἀνεπίγραφος	1534.B.198.(247/6)
ἰσημόντος	e.g. τε[ῖ] ἰσημόντοι	1471.54.(318/7)
αὐτόνομος	e.g. τὴν πόλιν . . . αὐτόνομον	682.38-39.(c.256/5)
διαποικίλος	e.g. σφραγὶς διαποικίλος	1534.A.99.(292/1.π)
διόχρυσος	e.g. φιάλη . . . διόχρυσος	1b.41 and 47.
δίπλινθος	e.g. θυρίδας δ[ι] πλίν[θ]ους	463.55.(307/6)
ἐμβολίμος	e.g. διατεταί μετ' εἰκάδας ἐμβολίμοι	H.S.I.74.29.4.(228/7)
	(N.B. For ι > κκ , see PH.II.B.2.b.(ii).)	
ἐπίχαλκος	e.g. πέλτας ἐπιχάλκους	1487.96.(306/5)
κατάραπτος	e.g. θυρίδας . . . κα[τ]αρά[π]τους	463.76.(307/6)
πανδήμος	e.g. Ἀφροδίτης Πανδήμου	659.12.(283/2)

περίχρυσος	e.g. περίχρυσος μίον	1491.32.(306/5)
σύγκλητος	e.g. έκκλησία σύγκλητος	945.5.(168/7).
But cf. χάριτα]ς καταξίας		663.32.(c.286/5.π).
Sub-Unit: ἀργός (ἀεργ-) e.g. τῇ]ς δδ ἀργού (sc. ἡ]ς)		1241.23.(300/299)
ἀκαιρος	e.g. ἀκαιροὶ δαπάναι	1329.12.(175/4)
ἀκυρος	e.g. ἀκυρος έστω . . . ἡ μίσθωσις	2499.33-34.(306/5)
ἀνέγκλητος	e.g. ἀνέγκλητον αὐτήν	1328.27.(175/4)
ἐπίκληρος	e.g. θυγατέρα ε ζναι ἐπίκληρον	1165.31.(300-250.π)
σύγκλητος	e.g. τὴν σύγκλητον	1224.e.11.(p.245.s.)
φισαλήφορος	e.g. ταῖς φισαληφόροις	1328.10.(183/2)
But cf. καταξίας χάριτας		1324.24.(in.s.ii.7π).

Private: none.

b) πάτριος is also of 2 terminations e.g.

ἡ πάτριος πολι[τεία	695.5.(in.s.iii.π)
τὰς πατρίους πολιτείας	687.15.(265/4)

θεσίας πατρύου 780.15.(252/1).

c) εἴνους gives nominative plural εἴνους e.g.

εἴνους ὄντες 505.10.(302/1)

[ὅς] οὐ εἰσὶν εἴνους 661.19.(267/6); cf. 690.2.

(c.260/59.)

accusative plural εἴνους e.g.

τοὺς εἴνους 653.30.(285/4).

2. Adjectives of Third Declension.

ἡμιούς : a) for the feminine ἡμίσε(ι)α, see PH.I.D.2.b.(i).

b) 1 ex. of accusative plural neuter viz.

τὸ ἡμί[σ]η 1678.a.23.(a.315.h.).

There are no exx. in my period of the earlier form ἡμίσεα.

3. Comparative Adjectives.

a) For πλε(ι)όν etc., see PH.I.D.2.b.(vi).

b) -ους for -ονες and -ονάς :

περί]εκοίησεν πλείους ἢ : XXX : 1165.4-5.U.(300-250.π)

πλείο|υς ὄντας 657.25-26.(283/2)

καταγαγεῖν εἰς ἐρήτην τῶν τε πολιτῶν πλείους

844.6.(193/2)

περί τ]ούτων αὐτῶι πλείους ἀπομεμαρτυρήασιν

891.8.(188/7.gr.).

-ω for -ονα :

ἔστη πλείω

1323.8 and 13.U.(197/6)

πλεῖω ἔτη

1325.20.U.(185/4).

There are no exx. of the longer forms.

D. Pronouns.1. Reflexive.

ἐαυτ- / αὐτ- :

	DO	323-00			299-75			274-50			249-25			224-00			199-75			174-46		
		S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P	S	U	P
ἐαυτ-	1	6	1	-	7	2	-	3	-	-	1	4	-	1	8	-	11	4	-	6	-	-
	2	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	1	-	3	9	-	1	5	-	1	-	-	3	-	-
	T	6	1	-	9	2	-	5	1	-	4	13	-	2	13	-	12	4	-	9	-	-
	a	-	2	-	3	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10	-	-	2	3	-
	3b	-	1	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
	α	-	-	-	-	-	-	2 ³	1 ³	-	-	-	-	1 ⁸	1 ⁵	-	2 ¹²	1 ¹⁰	12 ⁹	2 ^{9a}	-	-
αὐτ-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	2	3	-	-	1	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	T	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	2	3	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
	a	1	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	α	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N.B.1. The retention of the *α* is probably to be explained by the fact that, as the aspirate became lost, confusion would arise between αὐτ- and αὐτ- : cf. PH.II.C.4.

2. For *ἐαυτ-*, see PH.I.D.6.b.(ii).

3. Before 323 BC the predominant form is $\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau-$.

After 146 BC the form is always $\delta\alpha\upsilon\tau-$.

2. Relative.

$\delta\omicron\tau\iota\varsigma$: genitive singular $\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon$	(10 exx.) e.g.
	$\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon \ \epsilon\nu \ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\eta\tau\alpha\iota$	463.88.(307/6)
	$\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon \ \epsilon\nu \ \delta\omicron\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$	1236.18.U.(a.m.s.ii.*).
	dative singular $\delta\tau\omega\iota$	1 ex. viz.
	$\delta\tau\omega\iota \ \epsilon\nu \ \beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$	2499.37.U.(306/5).
	nominative plural $\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma$	(7 exx.) e.g.
	$\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma \ \epsilon\nu \ \lambda\acute{\alpha}\chi\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$	500.21-22.(302/1)
	$\omicron\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\nu\epsilon\varsigma \ \ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota$	682.85.(c.256/5).

There are no exx. of $\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\alpha}\iota\tau\iota\nu\iota$. This is also true of the periods before 323 BC and after 146 BC.

3. Indefinite.

$\tau\omicron\upsilon$ / $\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$.

State: $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (neuter) 448.81.(318/7); 579.6.(f.s.iv.*).

$\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (neuter) 456.b.21.(307/6); 940.5.(p.245.s.); 836.8.
(pp.229.h.); 891.7.(188/7.gr.).

$\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (masculine) 463.50.(307/6).

Sub-Unit: $\tau\iota\nu\omicron\varsigma$ (neuter) 1165.33.(300-250.*); 1326.6.(176/5);
1330.62.(p.163.*).

$\tau\omicron\upsilon$ (neuter): none.

Private: none.

N.B.1. Before 323 BC the shorter forms $\tau\omicron\upsilon$ and $\tau\epsilon\iota$ are commoner

than *τενος* and *τενι*.

2. There are no exx. of *του* and *τοι* after the end of the 4th. century.

E. Numerals.

1. *δύο* : accusative *δύο* e.g.

τυπῆα δύο 839.79.(221/0)

μῆρο[υς] δύο 1b.64.

genitive *δυοῖν* : 28 exx. in 1678.a.(a.315.h.);

1 ex. in 1682.26.(285/4).

δυεῖν : 463.77.(307/6); 584.12.(f.s.iv.π);

835.27.(pp.229.h.); 900.13.(c.185/4).

dative *δυοῖν* : *ταῖς διόξυ[ξι] δυοῖν*

1631.170.(323/2)

δυοῖν : 909.22.(c.170.h.); 1222.4.U.(f.s.iv.π).

N.B.1. There are no exx. of *δυοῖν* later than 285/4.

2. The earliest form of the genitive and dative is *δυοῖν*.

The genitive *δυεῖν* first appears towards the end of the 4th. century, as does the dative *δυοῖ(ν)*.

2. In 1 ex. *τρία* is treated as if indeclinable viz. 463.64.(307/6)

ὑπερέχον μὴ ἑλατ[τ]ον τριῖ ἡμιπό[δ]ια

(= *ὑπερέχον μὴ ἑλαττον τριῶν ἡμιποδίων*)

(= *ὑπερέχον μὴ ἑλαττω ἡμιπόδια ἢ τρία ἡμιπόδια*)

cf. Thucydides vi.95 *ὑπερόθη τολάντων οὐκ ἑλασσον πέντε καὶ ὀκτώ.*

3. a) For τέταρες , never τέσσ- , see PH.II.A.8.b.(1).

b) For τέταρες , see PH.II.A.3.c.(1).

4. For Compound Numbers, see SY.VII.

II. Conjugation.

A. Inflections:

1. Subjunctive.

The Perfect Subjunctive Active is formed with the Perfect Participle plus the Subjunctive of εἶναι . There are the following exx.:

<ῶν> ἐν ἡ πόλις παρεληφῶα εἶ | 1631.396.(323/2)

ἐποσπῶψ [αε] ὅσ' ἂ [ν] ἀφροσπῆ [ὀ]τα ἦε τοῦ ἀλοῖμοῦ
463.85.(307/6)

ὅσα δ' ἂν ἦε . | [..ῶ..] πότα κλέον θε δακ[τ]ύλων,
καλυθοβολήσῃ ib.54-55.

In the last ex. IG fills out the lacuna with κ[επονῆ] πότα , giving an unparalleled passive meaning to the active κονέω

(= "whatever has been built"). In actual fact the end of line 54 has been variously reported as H11 and H1C , the latter leading to the suggestion ὀ[ξεσπῆ] πότα . I would accept this, translating "jut out", cf. ἀφ-εσπῆ πότα at line 85. Whatever we read does not affect the formation of the tense, which must be Perfect Participle Active plus ἦε.

2. Imperative: Third Person Plural.

There are few exx. of the Imperative, since the imperativ infinitive

has largely taken over its function. Of those which do occur there are the following inflections:

a) Present Imperative: all exx. except 1 have the form -ωσαν

ἐπαναγκαζόντων	380.25.(320/19)
ἀποτινέτωσαν	1263.44.U.(300/299)
τιμᾶτωσαν	1275.16.U.(in.s.iii.*)
σ]τεφανοῦτωσαν	1297.14.U.(237/6)
ἀναγορευέτ[α]σαν	ib.14-15.
ὀφει λέτωσαν	ib.17-18.
κερανγελλέτωσαν *	1299.40.U.(pp.236/5).
ἔστωσαν (<ε[μ])	1328.12.U.(183/2); ib.18.

(* For κερανγ-, see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).

For ο written for ω, see OR.I.B.)

b) Aorist Imperative: all exx. have the form -ωσαν

μίσθωσαν	1241.52.U.(300/299)
ἀναγ]ορευσάτωσαν	793.5.(p.255.h.)
ἀναθέτωσαν	ib.7.
παραδότησαν	1534.B.155.(247/6)
καταβάλῃτωσαν	ib.156.
ἀναγραφάτωσαν	839.37.(221/0)
στησάτωσαν	ib.40.

N.B. Up to c.350 BC the Imperative always has the form -ων. The earliest ex. I can find of -ωσαν is καθελόντων 204.47.(352/1), and this is an isolated ex. until 300 BC. Note that this is a transitional mixed form, and cf. μίσθωσαν above.

3. Participle.

In the Feminine of the Perfect Participle Active there are 5 exx. of -ετα for -υτα viz.

γεγονεῖαν	903.10.(c.176/5)
γεγονεῖας	ib.15; 1224.b.7.(p.245.s.)
[συν]ενηνο/χεῖας	H.V.422.15.21-22.(196/5)
γεγονεῖον	1328.17.U.(183/2).

(* For -ε(ι)ω, see PH.I.D.2.b.(v).)

But since this is the Doric inflection, this is probably more of a dialectal than a morphological phenomenon. Meisterhans suggests that (1) here we have "Einfluss der Koine".

The only other exx. in my period viz.

παρεληφῶα	1631.396.(323/2)
κατεαγῶα	1469.69.(320/19)

have the earlier inflection -υτα.

(* For -υ(ι)α, see PH.I.D.4.a.(i) and b.(i).)

Note that there are no exx. of -ετα before the 3rd. century.

After 146 B -ετα is by far the commoner inflection.

B. Augment:

1. βούλομαι and δύναμαι are augmented with ἡ- e.g.

ἡβ[ο]ύλοντο	657.25.(283/2)
ἡβουλήθη	885.20.(c.200.h.)
ἡδύναντο	387.14.(319/8); 896.37.(186/5)
ἡδύνατο	678.12.(256/5); 682.42.(c.256/5); 896.12.(186/5)

(1) op.cit., p.168.

ἡδυνήθησαν

1320.3.U.(p.245.s.).

Before 323 BC these verbs augment with ε- .

2. ἐργάζομαι : only 1 ex. in an augmented tense viz.

ἡργάζετο

1587.8.(f.s.iv.κ).

This appears to be the augment before 323 BC. But after 146 BC we also find εΙ- e.g. ἐπεργάσαν|το 1035.21.(in.s.i.κ).

3. αυ > ηυ : e.g. ἐπηύξησαν 1326.11.U.(176/5).

After 146 BC we also find αυ > ευ e.g.

εὔξησαν

1343.18.U.(737/6).

C.1 Present Stem:

a) Contracted Verbs.

(i) The infinitive of χρᾶσθαι occurs at least once in the Ionic form χρᾶσθαι, although there is nothing "Ionic" about the inscrr. in which it occurs:

ὅπως οὖν ἐπι|συνερασθέντων τούτων τῷ θεῷ ἔχουσι χρᾶσθαι
κοινεῖ πάν|τες οἱ βουλόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ.

1322.9ff.U.(p.179.s.) Decretum Amphieraistarum Rhamnusiorum.

of. ἔν' ἔχουσιν χρᾶ|σθαι

1325.24.U.(185/4) Decretum

Collegii Dionysiastarum.

Meisterhans notes: "Für χρᾶσθαι findet sich seit dem II Jahrhundert die Form χρᾶσθαι ." (1)

(ii) ἐπιμελ(ε)ομαι : the form in -έομαι is much commoner than that in -ομαι . This is also true of the 4th century as a whole. Before 403 BC one cannot judge since ε = ε and εΙ, ο = ο and ου.

(1) op.cit., p.175.

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(1) op.cit., p.175.

5 exx. of ἐπιμέλομαι viz.

ἐπιμέλεται 373.26.(322/1)

ἐπιμέλεισθαι 1b.31.

ἐπιμελόμε[νοι 500.13.(302/1); S.XV.112.8.U.
(225/4)

ἐπιμελόμενος 1165.3.U.(300-250.κ).

12 exx. of ἐπιμελεῖσθαι viz.

ἐπιμελεῖται 650.14.(286/5); 1163.8.U.
(284/3); 1215.5.U.(p.221.s.)

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι 448.74.(318/7); 505.56.(302/1);
580.8.(f.s.iv.κ); 1165.32.U.
(300-250.κ); 1235.19.U.(c.248/7);
1243.17.U.(p.245.s.); 832.17.
(229/8); 1223.9.U.(p.179.s.)

ἐπιμελοῦνται 478.5.(305/4).

(iii) Disyllables in -έω contract when ε is followed by ε. The only exception to the rule is ἀναξέων 463.72.(307/6).

For normal usage of. δεῖν 448.84.(318/7)

ἔδει 1261.6.U.(302/1)

ἔδεῖτο 1193.9.U.(f.s.iv.κ).

δεομένους 483.15.(304/3)

δεῖνται 448.81.(318/7)

πλεῖσσι 682.13.(c.256/5)

ἐκπλεόντων 1225.13.U.(c.250.h.).

b) Verbs in -ώνω.

αὐξάνω is replaced by αὖξω e.g.

αὖξειν 1297.6.υ.(237/6)

συναύξων 1329.7.υ.(175/4)

ἐκπαύξων 905.10.(175/4).

c) Verbs in -ομαι.

ἀναλῶ is never found for ἀναλίσσω : cf. the formula

ἐν τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶν
δῆμων. e.g. 448.86-87.(318/7).

d) Other Verbs:

σώλζω always has the iota after ω. (cf. 3.a.(ii) below.) e.g.

σώλζονται 1191.21.υ.(321/0)

σώλζειν 687.35.(265/4)

σολζόμε[ν]οι S.XV.112.11.υ.(225/4)

συνδισσώλζει 1b.113.13.υ.(215/4).

γίγνομαι : for γίγν- γίν-, see VO.I.C.

ἀνοίγω instead of ἀνοίγνυμι : see D.3.C. below.

2. Future Stem:

a) -ίξω > -ιῶ : e.g. κ[α]λυπτηριεῖ 463.71.(307/6)

κομιοῦνται 847.35.(215/4)

δραλιεῖ 1678.a.4.(a.315.h.)

συναγωντιομέν[ε]ους 680.12.(249/8)

χαριοῦνται 555.26.(b.307/6 - 303/2.h.)

cf. also the future of καθίζω, where ἵζω is not just an inflection e.g. καθιτέιν H.VII.120.23.13.(250/49).

1 exception viz.

στεγάζει ἢ .. κερ[ε]νκεντρῖσαι * 463.62.(307/6).

(* For κερτενκ-, see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).)

b) -άζω > -άσω: e.g. ἐργάζονται 2498.17.U.(321/0)

καταστεγάζει 463.52.(307/6)

στεγάζει 1b.61.

σκευάζω gives 2 forms viz.

ἐπισκευάζει 1b.46.

κατασκευάζουσιν 839.33.(221/0)

But ἐνοικοδομήσει δὲ καὶ κατασκευᾷ 2499.9-10.U.
(306/5)

ἐπαγγέλλε[σ]ται[. εὐχρηστον ἑαυτὸν] κατασκευᾷ
τῷ δήμῳ 836.8-10.(pp.229.h.).

c) Contracted Futures:

ἀπαγγελοῦσι * 653.46.(285/4)

(* For ἀπανγ-, see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).)

ἀπαροῦσιν 1b.45.

ἀνατεμεῖ 463.63.(307/6).

καλέω normally has a contracted future e.g.

παρακαλοῦσιν 653.47.(285/4).

But there is 1 ex. of καλέσω viz.

παρακαλέσ[ο]υσιν 1224.b.20.U.(c.166.*).

This inscr. is a " Decretum Cleruchorum Atticorum Murinam urbem

insulae Lemni incolentium",

d) ἔχω has future ἔξω, never σχήσω e.g.

παρέξει	463.48.(307/6) etc.
παρέξειν	1299.16.U.(pp.236/5)
παρέξουσθαι	654.32.(285/4) etc.
μεθεξουσιν	1325.26.U.(185/4)
[1]εθεξοντα	1326.44.U.(176/5).

3. Aorist Stem:

a) Sigmatic Aorist Active and Middle.

(i) Contracted Verbs:

ἄρῶ	:	ἄρῶσαι (Aor. Subj.)	2498.21.U.(321/0).
ἰάομαι	:	ἰάσαντο	772.13.(268/7).
καλέω	:	παρακαλέσαντος	505.31.(302/1) etc.
πλέω	:	ἐκπλεῦσαι	1b.18. etc.
τελέω	:	οἰετέλεσαν	500.13.(302/1) etc.

(ii) σάωζω	:	ἑ-σωι-σ-	e.g.
		συνδιέ σωισεν	493.21-22.(303/2)
		ἑ]σωισεν	1236.6.U.(a.m.s.ii.κ).

cf. 1.d. above.

(iii) ἀναλίσκω	:	ἀνηλωσ-	e.g.
		προανήλωσεν	834.3.(pp.229.h.)
		πρόσανήλωσεν	1271.11.U.(299/8.κ).

(iv) ἀναγορεύσαι for ἀνειπεῖν :

State: only 4 exx. of ἀναγορεύσαι viz. 677.14.(p.277.h.); 682.

75.(c.256/5); 956.32.(161/0);
958.29.(152/1).

11 exx. of ἀνελεῖν viz. 555.6.(b.307/6 - 303/2.h.); 557.
16.(p.306/5.f.); 653.36.(285/4);
654.41.(285/4); 657.61.(283/2);
692.11.(p.303/2.π); 836.20.
(pp.229.h.); 900.9.(c.185/4);
H.IV.525.39.36.(226/5); H.VI.448.
3.9.(b.224-196.h.).

Sub-Unit: 1 ex. of ἀναγορεύσαι viz. 1282.12.U.(261/0).

cf. also εἰς δὲ μὴ ἀναγο|ρεύσασαι, (sc. τὸν
στεφάνον.) 1263.43-44.U.(300/299); cf. 1297.
17.U.(237/6).

4 exx. of ἀνελεῖν viz. 1202.14.U.(313/2); 1214.
28.U.(300-250.π); 1299.28.U.(pp.
236/5); 1304.b.14.U.(269/8).

(* All the above exx. of the infinitive are of the type : "proclaim
this/these crown(s)" except 1202 and 1214 where we have the slightly
different: ἀνελεῖν ... ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτοὺς ὁ δῆμος (1202);
ἀνελεῖν ... ὅτι στεφανοῦ|σι Περσας (1214).

cf. also

στεφανοῦτω | ὁ ἱερεὺς ζωτήριχον ... καὶ
ἀνελεῖτω 1273.17.U.(281/0)

εἰς δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ στεφανοῖ|ται ἢ μὴ ἀνελεῖται
1b.22.

N.B. The earliest ex of ἀναγορεύσαι is καὶ ἀναγορευσά|τω

ὁ κῆ]ρυξ 1629.196.(325/4).

(v) ἐπιόψ[ατ]ο 1933.1.(f.s.iv.x).

This is an aorist form of the future verb ἐπιόψομαι, found in Iliad 9.167 and Odyssey 2.294. It means "choose", and is connected with the root ὀπ cf. Latin optare.

This and the ex. in the Aorist Passive - see 3.d. below - are both in inscrr. which list men chosen by ὁ ἱεροφάντης τὴν κλίνην στρέψαι πρὶς ἱλουτῶνι καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν κοσμήσαι κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. It appears to be a legalistic and administrative word; cf. S.X.2.B.19 ff.(pp.490,x), *Lex sacra ad ludos Heraclis pertinens*: τριτάκοντα ἄνδρ[ας δέ] τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐπιόψασθαι.

cf.also Plato Legg. 947c, (instructions for the burial of the examiners): ἔωθεν δ' εἰς τὴν θήρην φέρειν αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν κλίνην ἑκατὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, οὓς ἂν οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐπιόψωνται, κτλ.

b) Thematic Aorist Active and Middle.

(1) ἄγω	: προσαγαγεῖν	466.b.26.(307/6.h.) etc.
αἶρῶ	: καθεῖλον	448.62.(318/7) etc.
βάλλω	: ἐ]πιβαλὼν	463.68.(307/6) etc.
γίγνομαι	: ἐγένετο	373.24.(322/1) etc.
έρχομαι	: κατελθὼν	448.45.(318/7) etc.
εδρίζω	: ἐδρέσθαι	686.16.(c.265/4) etc.
έχω	: παρέσχετο	844.8.(193/2)
λαγχάνω	: λ]άχουσιν	394.4.(b.321/0-319/8) etc.
λαμβάνω	: λαβὼν	657.21.(283/2) etc.

λέγω	: ἀνεῖπον	555.6.(b.307/6-303/2.h.) etc.
δρῶ	: ἰδεῖν	448.56.(318/7) etc.
πᾶσχω	: πᾶθαι	555.11.(b.307/6-303/2.h.) etc.
πυνθάνομαι	: πυθόμενος	654.18.(285/4) etc.
τέμνω	: ποροτεμῶν	463.65.(307/6) etc.
τυγχάνω	: περιτυχῶν	679.11.(249/8.gr.) etc.
φέρω	: ε[ῖ]σανεγκεῖν	554.9.(c.306/5.h.) etc.
φεύγω	: ἀπέφυγον	1631.139.(323/2).

(ii) Imperative of εἶπον :

1 ex. of ἀνειπέτω 1273.16.U.(281/0)

1 ex. of ἀνειπέτω 1247.13.U.(m.s.111.π).

(iii) For γαίνεσθαι (= γίνεσθαι) 1328.5.U.(183/2),

see PH.I.A.1.d.(1).

c) Athematic Aorist Active and Middle.

ἀλαῖσκομαι	: ἀλαοῖσιν	844.10.(193/2).
βαίνω	: συ[ν]έβη	774.b.6.(c.250/49.h.) etc.
γινώσκω	: κατέγνωσαν	1631.355.(323/2) etc.

d) Aorist Passive.

(see Table on next page)

Type	Verb	Ex. and Reference
With θ	αἰρέω	καθαίρεθείσας 448.67.(318/7)
	αἶρω	ἀρθεῖ 844.13.(193/2)
	ἐπαινέω	ἐπαινεοῦναι 1299.49.U.(pp.236/5)
	καλέω	παρακληθεῖς II.IV.525.39.14.(226/5)
	κτεπέσσω	ἐπτεπόθησαν 1631.177.(323/2)
	σώεζω	σωοῦναι 399.18.(c.320/19.h.); 652.12.(c.286/5)
	τέττω	ἐτέχθη 505.39.(302/1).
	φέρω	Not ἐταγ- ἀπενεχοῦναι 903.13.(c.176/5).
Without θ	γράφω	ἐγγραφέντων 1159.7.U.(303/2)
	(κατα)λέγω	καταλεγείσης 896.9.(186/5)
	σπείρω	σπαρῆναι 834.9.(pp.229.h.)
	στελλω	συναποσταλεῖς 498.15.(303/2.h.)
	-φθείρω	διαφθοαρῆ[ναι] 1631.143.(323/2)
Deponents with Aorists Passive in Form	βούλομαι	βουληθέντος 1236.5.U.(a.m.s.ii.κ)
	δύναμαι	ἠδυνήθησαν 1320.3.U.(p.245.s.)
	ἠδομαι	συ[v]ῆθη 654.18.(285/4)
	οἶομαι	ὤληθη 774.18.(c.250/49.h.)
	φιλοτιμέομαι	ἐφιλοτιμήθησαν 845.8.(f.s.iii.κ).

Note that there is no iota after ω in σωοῦναι: cf. 1.d. and 3.a.(ii) above.

Note also the form τοῦς ἐπιτοφ[ε]ντας 1934.2.(f.s.iv.κ).
cf. a.(v) above.

4. Perfect Stem:

a) Perfect Active.

Type	Verb	Ex. and Reference
With χ	ἀγγέλλω	ἀπήγγελλεν H.IV.525.39.22.(226/5)
	ἐπαίνέω	ἐπαινέκασιν 1163.14.U.(284/3)
	ἔχω	πα]ρῶσχηπεν 374.6.(p.319/8.f.)
	πέπτω	πεπτωκότων 1225.11.U.(c.250.h.)
	οὐτέλλω	ἀπεστῆλκασιν 687.27.(265/4)
	τελέω	διετέτελέκασιν 505.9.(302/1)
Without χ	ἀλλάττω	μετήλλα χότος 1326.24-25.U.(176/5)
	γίγνομαι	γεγόνασιν 505.12.(302/1)
	λαμβάνω	εἰληφέναι 1224.b.19.U.(p.245.s.)
	πράττω	πεπρόχασιν S.XVI.92.13.(173/2)
	ῥήνυμι	Not πεπραγ- κατέρ[ρ]ωγεν 463.75.(307/6)
	φέρω	[ε]ἰσενήνοχεν 554.12.(c.306/5.h.).

Note also the form ἐ]μπεφανέκασιν 955.15.(a.159.h.) from ἐμφανίζω, treated as if the verb were a compound of ἐν plus *φανίζω.

N.B. For γέγονα / γεγένημαι, see b. below.

b) Perfect Middle and Passive.

γίγνομαι	: γεγενημένοις	654.19.(285/4)
ὀράω	: προεωραμένος	H.V.422.15.20.(196/5)

τάττω : συντεταγμένον 379.14.(b.321/0-318/7)
 φέρω : προσενηνεγμένος H.V.422.15.8.(196/5).

γέγονα / γεγέννημαι:

State: 36 exx. of γέγονα from 505.12.(302/1) to H.XVI.165.64.
 17.(161/0).

2 exx. of γεγέννημαι viz.

συ [ν] ήσθη τ [ο] [ς] γεγενημένοις εδ' ευχήμασι [ν]
 654.18-19.(285/4)

τὰ]ς γεγενημένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πράξ [εις
 885.12.(c.200.h.).

It should be noted that the Active form is always used in the
 formulae:- τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἃ φασιν γεγονέναι

ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν
 τοῖς ἱεροῖς.

ἀπαγγέλλει γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλὰ.

These formulaic exx. account for 20 of the 36 exx.

Sub-Unit: 7 exx. of γέγονα e.g.

ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γέγονεν 1261.30.(301/300)

πρισὶν τῶν ἀπογεγονότων 1327.10.(178/7).

1 ex. of γεγέννημαι viz.

ἐπίκληρον ἐκ τῶν νόμων γεγενημένην
 1165.31.(300-250.π).

There appears to be no semantic distinction between the 2 forms.

5. Pluperfect:

There are only 2 instances viz.

ἐτετέμνητο	1326.36.U.(176/5)
ἀνετέθηκα *Am[II.XVI.166.64.34.(161/0).

D. III. Verbs.1. Dual and Plural of Aorist of τίθημι and δίδωμι :

State: τίθημι

2 exx. without π viz.

ἀ[νέ]θεσαν	1485.8-9.(307/6)
ἀνέθεσαν	1489.16.(f.s.iv.κ).

3 exx. with π viz.

ἀνέθηκαν	3424.13.(f.s.iv.κ); 1534.B.170. (247/6).
ἀνέ]θηκαν	II.XIII.256.11.22.(c.166.κ).

δίδωμι

8 exx. without π viz.

παρέδομεν	1631.173.(323/2); 1550.13.(in.s.iii.κ)
παρέδοσαν	1631.414 and 416.(323/2)
π]ροσπαρέδοσαν	1472.11.(321/0)
προσπαρέδοσα[ν	1469.166.(320/19)
παρέδοσα[ν	1487.93.(306/5)
ἔ[δ]ομεν	1491.26.(306/5).

2 exx. with π viz.

ἐπέδωκαν	847.19.(215/4)
ἔδωκαν	992.5.(p.179.s.).

Note that, except for 1550.13.(in.s.iii.*), there are no exx. of the form without π after the end of the 4th. century. This is in keeping with the trend before 323 BC.

After 146 BC there are no exx. of the form without π .

Sub-Unit: $\pi\epsilon\theta\eta\mu\epsilon$

4 exx. without π viz.

$\delta\upsilon\delta\theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 2973.3.(s.iv/iii.*); S.XVII.64.2.
(p.307/6.*); 2977.1.(251/0?);
2355.1.(s.iii.*?)

9 exx. with π viz.

$\delta\upsilon\delta\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\nu$ 2971.4.(c.315/4.*); 1277.13.(278/7);
3470.8.(p.221.s.); 2945.3.(s.iii/ii.*);
3473.9.(p.179.s.); S.XVII.66.6.(172/1);
H.IX.356.50.2.(181/0); 2864.1.(162/1).

$\sigma\upsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\delta\theta\eta\mu\epsilon\alpha\nu$ 1299.93.(pp.236/5).

$\delta\epsilon\delta\theta\eta\mu\epsilon$

2 exx. without π viz.

$\delta\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 1278.2.(273/2)

$\delta\pi\delta\delta\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ H.III.44.33.7.(in.s.iii.*).

No exx. with π .

The distinction between the forms is not quite so clearcut as in State inscr., but it is plain that the form with π is the predominant form later in the period.

Private: $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota$

2 exx. without κ viz,

$[\delta]$ $\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 4442.8.(p.m.s.iii.π)

$\delta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ 4685.1.(s.iii.π).

6 exx. with κ viz.

$\delta\nu\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\alpha\nu$ 4615.4.(f.s.iv.π); 4431.1.(s.iv/iii.π);

3856.2.(p.m.s.iii.π); 3869.4.(p.179.s.);

3864.4.(p.179.s.); 3781.3.(p.179.s.).

$\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omega\mu\iota$: no exx.

Again the form with κ appears to be the commoner at the end of the period,

2. Perfect Tense:

a) $\tau\acute{\iota}\theta\eta\mu\iota > \tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\mu\iota$: e.g.

$\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ H.V.422.15.15.(196/5)

$\delta\nu\alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\omega\nu$ 1299.44.U.(pp.236/5).

b) $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\iota$ shows both stems, $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\alpha-$ and $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa-$:

6 exx. of $\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\kappa-$ viz.

$\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha\iota$ 1632.339.(323/2)

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa[\delta]\tau\alpha$ 463.85.(307/6)

$\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\alpha\varsigma$ 1678.a.6.(a.315.h.)

$\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\iota}\omega\tau\alpha$ 1534.A.10.(292/1.π)

$\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu$ 1165.21.U.(300-250.π)

$\kappa\alpha\theta\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ 1225.7.U.(c.250.h.).

1 ex. of ἔστω- viz.

καὶ [εσ] τὸ [ε] 401.7. (b.321-319.)

- c) The Perfect Passive of ζώννυμι is ἐζώμην, not ἐζώσμεθα.
e.g. αἱ τὸ καὶ ἐλεζώμεθα 1491.33. (306/5).

3. Alternative Forms of ἔλ Verbs:

- a) ἑστέμην : infinitive ἑστάνειν 1330.37.U. (p.163.*).

There are no exx. of ἑστάνειν. This is a late phenomenon; cf.

περιστάνοντος 1035.13. (in.s.i.)*

ἑστάνομενος 1343.26.U. (?37/6).

- b) ἔμνυμι : present indicative ἔμνυω 951.10. (167/6).

There are no exx. of ἔμνυμι. (For the transition of verbs in
(1)
- νυμι to the inflections of ω verbs, see Meisterhans.).

- c) ἀνοίγνυμι : present participle ἀνοίγου|σα 1315.14-15.U.

(211/10). It is clear that the earliest form of this verb is

ἀνοίγω. ἀνοίγνυμι first appears in the second half of
(2)
the 4th century. I have no exx. of ἀνοίγνυσα.

E. Voices.

1. Active and Middle:

γέγονα and γεγένημαι are found with no apparent semantic

(1) op.cit., p.191.

(2) Meisterhans, op.cit., p.191.

distinction (see C.4.b. above) e.g.

συ [ν]ήσθη τ[ο]ῖς γεγενημένοις εὐτυχήμασι [ν]
654.19.(285/4)

διὰ τὴν γεγνεῖαν ἀφορίαν 903.10.(c.176/5).

It has been noted above that the Active form is always used in the formulae relating to "what happened at the sacrifices".

2. Middle and Passive.

a) The Future Passive of τιμάω is always passive in form e.g.

τιμηθήσονται 507.20.(c.302/1)

[τ]ιμηθήσονται 1278.7.U.(273/2).

b) The Future Middle of μαστιγῶ is found with passive meaning:

ὅν δέ τις ληθοεῖ μαστιγῶ [σ]εσται
1362.7ff.U.(f.s.iv.κ).

3. Deponent Verbs.

a) ἐπιμελέομαι is Middle in form in the Future, and Passive in form in the Aorist e.g.

ἐπιμελήσονται 648.8.(c.295/4); 1300.13.U.
(c.230.κ).

ἐπεμελήθησαν 500.11.(302/1).

b) The following verbs are Passive in form in the Aorist:-

βούλομαι, δύναμαι, ἥδομαι, οἶζομαι, φιλοτιμέομαι.

For exx. of their forms, see C.3.d. above.

c) ψηφίζομαι has a Perfect which is Passive in meaning in e.g.

ἀγαθ[οῖς] τύχει ἐψηφίσ[θαι] τῷ δήμῳ 373.26-27.(322/1)

τὰς ἐψηφισμένας τίμας

844.43.(193/2)

τὰ ἐψηφισ[μ]ε[ν]α [τ]ῷ [ε] δήμῳ·

956.10-11.(161/0).

But it can also be used as a Middle e.g.

ὁ δῆμος ... | ... ἐψηφισται παραλαβεῖν

687.19-20.(265/4)

ἢς πρότερον ἐψηφισται ὁ δῆμος

844.40-41.(193/2).

SECTION 4.WORD FORMATION.I. Simple Words.A. Masculine Proper Nouns in -της / -εας :

Name	της			εας		
	S	U	P	S	U	F
*Αγαθός	1	-	-	-	-	-
*Αγαθός ^{*1}	-	1	-	-	-	-
*Αγός, *Αγέας	1	1	3	1	-	1
*Αγνός	3	1	-	-	-	-
Ατνέας	-	-	-	1	-	3
Ατνησός	-	-	2	-	-	-
Ατοχός	1	-	-	-	-	-
Ατοχρός	1	-	-	-	-	-
*Αμεινός	4	1	-	-	-	-
*Αμυνός	1	-	-	-	-	-
*Ανδρέας	-	-	-	4	-	4
*Αριστέας	-	-	-	-	1	2
*Αρχός	4	2	6	-	-	-
*Αστέας	-	-	-	1	-	-
Ασός	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ασός	1	-	-	-	-	-
*Αφροδεισός	-	-	1	-	-	-
Γλαυκός	6	2	3	-	-	-
Γυνός	1	2	-	-	-	-
Γοργός	1	-	2	-	-	-

Name	Ιας			εας		
	S	U	P	S	U	P
Δαρίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Δαρδός	-	-	-	-	1	-
Δεινός	1	2	1	-	-	-
Δελός	1	-	-	-	-	-
Δηλός	1	-	-	-	-	-
Δημέας	-	-	-	6	-	1
Δορκός	1	-	-	-	-	-
Δρομός	-	-	-	3	-	1
*Επαινέας	-	-	-	-	1	-
*Ερμίας	4	1	7	-	-	-
Εδοός	2	-	1	-	-	-
Εύφροδός	-	-	-	1	-	-
Ζηνός	-	-	-	1	-	1
*Ηγησός	9	-	-	-	-	-
*Ηγός	1	-	-	-	-	-
Θασός	-	-	1	-	-	-
Θανμής	-	-	1	-	-	-
Θρασός	-	-	-	1	-	-
*Ικπός	3	1	-	-	-	-
*Ισός	-	1	-	-	-	-
*Ισμηνός	-	-	1	-	-	-
Καλλός	22	5	6	-	-	-
Κινός	-	-	-	7	-	-
Κιχησός	1	-	-	-	-	-
Κλεινός	1	-	-	-	-	-

Name	LOG			EAG		
	S	U	P	S	U	P
{Κρατίας {Κραντιάς	-	-	1	-	1	1
Κτησίας	2	2	2	-	-	-
Κωριάς	-	-	-	3	-	-
Λαμπρίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Λαυσαντίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Λυκτιάς	-	-	-	1	1	-
Λυσαντίας	5	3	2	-	-	-
Λυστίας	7	5	3	-	-	-
Μαμυτίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
{Ματρίας {Ματριάς	2	-	-	1	-	-
Μειδτίας	1	-	1	-	-	-
Μηντίας	-	-	1	-	-	-
{Μναστίας {Μναστιάς	-	-	1	1	-	-
Μανντίας	4	-	-	-	-	-
Μανστίας	2	-	1	-	-	-
Νικηστίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Νικίας, Νικτιάς	15	8	12	2	-	-
Ξεντίας	-	-	1	-	-	-
Ξενντιάς ^{*2}	-	-	-	-	-	1
Ώλυμπτίας	-	-	3	-	-	-
Θάλτίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Θόριτίας	3	-	-	-	-	-
Παιδτιάς	-	-	-	-	1	-
Παστιάς	-	-	-	1	-	-

Name	τας			εας		
	S	U	P	S	U	P
Πανσαντίας	3	2	3	-	-	-
Πανσίας	2	-	2	-	-	-
{ Πειοτίας Πειθέας	2	-	1	1	-	-
Πλειοντίας	1	-	1	-	-	-
Πολλτίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Πρατίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Πρωτίας	-	-	-	2	-	-
Πυθέας	-	-	-	4	1	-
Πυρρίας	3	-	4	-	-	-
Σιμτίας	4	-	1	-	-	-
Σμικρίας	2	-	-	-	-	-
Σπουδτίας	2	-	-	-	-	-
Στηντίας	-	-	2	-	-	-
Στραστίας	-	-	1	-	-	-
Σφοδρίας	1	-	1	-	-	-
Σωσίας	1	2	2	-	-	-
Τειστίας	1	-	1	-	-	-
Τελωστίας	1	-	-	-	-	-
Τιμίας	-	-	-	1	-	-
Τυρτίας	-	-	1	-	-	-
Φαιδρίας	1	1	1	-	-	-
Φαντίας	3	1	4	-	-	-
Φιλίας (Φιλλέας)	-	-	-	7	1	1 (λλ)
Χαρτίας	1	1	-	-	-	-

Name	ι ο ς			ου ς		
	S	U	P	S	U	P
(Χαιρίας Χαιρέος	-	1	-	4	3	-
χαρίας	12	4	1	-	-	-
χρύσιος	1	-	-	-	-	-

(*1. This is one 'Αγασίας Θεσσαλός 1299.111.U.(pp.236/5).

His nationality suggests that his name may be a dialectal variant of 'Αγασίας.

*2. This is one Μεννέος | δε Θίου 7004.P.(s.11.π). Despite the Aeolic appearance of the name, he appears from his demotic to be Athenian. cf. the name Μεννέος in

Πάτρων | Μεννέου | Δερυνιεύου 5889.P.(s.1.π).)

N.B.1. It is interesting to look further at those names which show both suffixes in the light of the evidence before 323 BC and after 146 BC: (figures in brackets represent no. of exx.)

Before 323 BC	323-146 BC	After 146 BC
-	(Αγίας (5) 'Αγέας (2)	'Αγίας (1)
-	(κρατίας (1) κρατέας (2)	-
-	(πατρίας (2) πατρέας (1)	Ματρέας (1)
-	(Μνασίας (1) Μνασέας (1)	Μνασίας (1) Μνασέας (5)
(Νικέας (2) otherwise Νικίας	(Νικίας (35) Νικέας (2)	always Νικέας
always Πετιόας	(Πετιόας (3) Πετιόεας (1)	-

Before 323 BC	323-146 BC	After 146 BC
{ Χαίριος (2)	{ Χαίριος (1)	{ Χαίριος (1)
{ Χαίρεος (3)	{ Χαίρεος (7)	{ Χαίρεος (3)

This suggests that, although both suffixes are found, *-ιος* is preferred by:- 'Αγίος, Νικίος, Νεοίος.

and *-εος* by:- Ηνασέος, Χαίρεος.

Κρατίος/-έος is a doubtful quantity since it does not seem to appear elsewhere. It is not listed in Kirchner's Prosopographia Attica, but Hansen lists it under Κρατέος (1).

The evidence for Χαίριος/-έος is too flimsy to draw any conclusion.

2. Apart from the preceding names which appear in my period with both suffixes, the evidence before 323 BC and after 146 BC sometimes conflicts with the clear-cut division into *-ιος* / *-εος* shown in my main Table. There are the following contradictions:

Before 323 BC	323-146 BC	After 146 BC
{ 'Ανδριος (1)	'Ανδρέος (8)	'Ανδρέος (2)
{ 'Ανδρέος (1)		
Αδριος (1)	Αδριος (1)	-
{ Καλλέος (4)	Καλλίος (33)	Καλλίος (8)
{ otherwise Καλλίος		
{ Πρωτίος (3)	Πρωτέος (2)	Πρωτέος (1)
{ Πρωτέος (1)		
Τιμίος (1)	Τιμέος (1)	-

(1) Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen.

This suggests that $-ιος$ is preferred by $καλλις$
and $-ος$ by $*ανδρες$.

The rest are doubtful.

All other exx. in the main Table are supported by the evidence outside my period. Nevertheless, one should not feel overconfident about the appropriate suffix if the no. of exx. is very few. It seems clear that there is always the possibility of the alternative suffix.

3. Those with sigma immediately preceding the suffix tend to have $-ιος$. cf. II.B. below.

B. 1. The feminine equivalent of $*αντιοχευς$ (= "from Antiochus") is always $*αντιοχισσα$ (not $*αντιοχες$): e.g. 8101.P.(p.317/6.*); 8256.P.(p.317/6.*); 8314.P.(p.f.s.iv.*); 8130.P.(s.iii/ii.*); 8143.P.(s.iii/ii.*); 8129.P.(p.197.s.); 8131.P.(p.197.s.); 8250.P.(p.197.s.); 8280.P.(s.ii.*).

2. The feminine equivalent of $*ηρακλειδης$ (= "from Heraclea") is normally $*ηρακλειδισσα$: e.g. 8570.P.(p.f.s.iv.*); 8597.P.(s.iii.*); 8598.P.(s.iii.*); 8556.P.(s.iii/ii.*); 8590.P.(s.iii/ii.*); 8580.P.(p.197.s.); 8560.P.(s.ii.*); 8588.P.(s.ii.*); 8594.P.(s.ii.*).
of $*ηρακλειδης$ 8802.P.(in.s.ii.*); 8808.P.(s.ii.*). (see PH. I.D.2.b.(v).)

But there is also 1 ex. of $*ηρακλειδισσα$ viz. 8595.P.(s.ii.*).
(see PH.I.A.2.b.(1).)

3. There is 1 ex. of Ταναγραεύς (= "from Tanagra") viz. 10,405.P.(p.f.s.iv.*). Although the feminine from Ταναγραῖς occurs once viz. 10,409.P.(p.179.s.), there are no exx. of Ταναγραῖος which is the normal masculine form e.g. 10,410.P.(s.i.*).

4. There is 1 ex. of Ἰφολιστιάδου viz. 6742.P.(s.ii.?) for Ἰφολιστιάδου e.g. 6301.P.(in.s.ii.*). This is a clear ex. of false etymology.

II. Compounds.

A. Compounds whose first part is a Verb Stem generally have ε at the end of the stem: e.g.

Αρχε-: -βιάδης, -βιος, -δίκη, -δικος, -θέωρος, -λαος, -λεως, -μαχος, -νείδης, -νεως, -νικος, -πολις, -στράτη, -στρατος, -φών.

*Εχε-: -βουλος, -δημος, -στρατος, -τιμος, -φυλος.

*Ηγε-: -μαχος.

Μεγε-: -δαμος, -κλής, -κράτης, -μαχος, -στρατος, -φρων, -χαρμος.

Θερε-: -κλής, -νίκη.

Καίρε-: -δημος, -λείδης, -στράτη, -στρατος, -φώνης, -φιλος, -φών.

(* not a proper noun.)

But, contrary to the above rule, we find the following exx.:-

Αρχι-: -βία 4682.6.P.(s.iii.)

-δαμος 1753.10.(f.s.iv.*)

'Αρχι-: -δικος 7362.P.(s.ii.)*
 -κλειδης 1753.11.(f.s.iv.)*
 -κλῆς (7 exx.) 2325.187.(pp.288.)* - 1938.42.(152/1)
 -κράτης 1958.14.U.(p.m.s.iii.)*.

ἀρχιτέκτων 1678.A.6.(a.315.h.); 1b,8 and 11; 500.34.(302/1);
 900.12.(c.185/4); 841.14.(p.179.s.).

ὑπαρχιτέκτων 1678.A.13.(a.315.h.).

Παιθι-: -δημος 687.2.(265/4).

Χαιρι-: -γένης 766.22.(pp.246/5).

N.B.1. Before 323 BC there are exx. of

'Αρχι-: -δαμος, -κλειδης, -κλῆς.

ἀρχιτέκτων.

Χαιρι-: -γένης, -μῆνης.

2. After 146 BC there are exx. of

'Αρχι-: -κλῆς, -τιμος.

B. Forms compounded with sigma always have ι at the end of the stem
 e.g.

'Αλθει-: -δημος, -κράτης, -μαχος.

'Ηγησι-: -(ι)ππος, -λαως, -λοχος, -πύλη.

Κτησι-: -βιος, -κλῆς.

Λυσι-: -θειδης, -θεος, -κλειδης, -κλῆς, -κράτης, -μαχος,
 -μῆνης, -πονος, -στρωτος.

Μνησι-: -θεος, -κλειδης, -κλῆς, -μαχος, -στρωτος.

ὄνησι-: -κρίτος.

Παυσι-: -μαχος.

Πραξι-: -βουλος.

Σωσι-: -βιος, -γένης, -δίκιος, -θεος, -(ι)ππος, -κράτης,
-στρατος.

Τελουσι-: -δημος.

Θρασι-: -κλειδης.

One might compare here the Proper Nouns in -ιας / -εας (see I.A. above) where, of those which have sigma immediately preceding the suffix, 19 show -ιας viz. Ἀγασ-, Αἰνησ-, Ἀφροδεισ-, Γνωσ-, Δαμασ-, Ἠγησ-, Θασ-, Ἰσ-, Κιχησ-, Κτησ-, Λυσ-, Πανσ-, Πικησ-, Πανσ-, Στησ-, Σωσ-, Τεισ-, Τελουσ-, Χρυσ-.

2 show -εας viz. Θρασ-, Πασ-.

1 shows both suffixes viz. Εγασ-.

C. Note also the following forms:-

Καλλένικον [ς 1632.244.(323/2)

Καλλετέμα * 11,758.P.(s.ii.κ).

(* For ε > ει, see PH.I.A.1.d.(i).)

But cf.

Καλλι-: -κράτης, -νίκη, -στρατος, -τέλης, -χάρης, -φάνης.

Before 323 BC I have found 1 ex. of [Κα]λλένικον 6548.P.
(in.s.iv.κ).

III. Nouns in -σις (both simple and compound).

Apart from the purely "formulaic" nouns in -σις i.e. those which

occur frequently in the easily recognizable formulae viz. ἀναγόμεναις, ἀνέμεναις, ἀπόδοτε, διοίκησις, ἐγρηγορήσας, κοίτης, στήλη, αἵματι, the following exx. occur:-

State:

αἵρεσις = προαἵρεσις (policy) e.g. τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχων τοῖς προγόμοις 682.19-20.(c.256/5).

αἵτησις = request, demand.

ἀναβάσις = ? mounted expedition: ... τῶν ἐπεσίων καὶ τῶν ἀναβάσεων οἱ [.... 672.21.(279/8.h.).

ἀποχώρησις = retreat.

ἀφασις = discharge, release.

διοδοτεῖς = disposition (of monies).

δορῶσις = plastering.

ἐλασις = procession (of Eleusinian initiates to the sea):

τῆς ἐλασίδος ἐλάσε[ως] 847.20.(215/4).

ἐκαίτησις = request.

ἐξετάσις = review (of troops).

ἐπανόρθωσις = restoration (of one's fortunes).

ἐπίγνωσις = recognition, acknowledgement (of one's services).

ἐπιδόσις = voluntary contribution (to the state).

ἐπίχυσις = wine pitcher.

ἐρείψις = throwing down, ruin.

καταἵρεσις = a taking down (of dedications).

κονίωσις = plastering.

κορδοσις = a handing over (from one year's magistrates to the next).

πρόξις = success: ψηφίσματα ... ὁρῶν ἔχοντα καὶ πρόξιν

καὶ ἐϋ|σχημοσύνην πῶλ ὀήμωι·

H.V.422.15,25 ff.(196/5).

προαίρεσις = αἵρεσις (see above).

τάξις = squadron or quota (of infantry) : τῆς εὐσταλίας|

τῆς τάξεως τῆς αὐτοῦ διαστ[ος

H.II.156.5.12.(275/4).

χῶσις = a filling up (by throwing in earth):

εἰς τὴν χῶσιν [τῶν λιμένων 786.6.(pp.229/8.h.).

Sub-Unit:

διάδοσις = distribution.

δόσις = a giving, gift.

εἰσπραξις = exaction or collecting (of money).

ἐκδοσις = giving (of a contract) : τὴν ἐγδοσιν τῆς εἰκόνο[ς

1299.39.U.(pp.236/5.).

(* For ἐκ- > ἐγ-, see PH.II.D.1.c.).

ἐπίδοσις = voluntary contribution.

ἐπίχυσις = wine pitcher.

ἔδρυσις = a building of.

ἐληήρωσις = a choosing by lot.

μισθοσις = rent.

ὁχύρωσις = a fortifying or strengthening:

ὁχύρωσιν | φρουρῶν S.XV.113.10.U.(215/4).

παράδοσις = a setting out (of food).

προαίρεσις = policy.

στρώσις = a spreading or covering (in some kind of lectisternium):

συνλειτουργῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁερμοῖς καὶ ταῖς στρώσε|σιν

ταῖς ἑρμῆας * , 1329.15-16.U.(175/4).

This is a decree of Ὀρυζῶνες who worship the Magna Mater.

(* For ΟΥΝΑ- , see PH.II.F.2.c.(1).

For εἰ > η , see PH.I.A.2.b.(1).)

Private: none.

SECTION 5.SYNTAX.I. A. Agreement.1. Agreement of Participle:a) Masculine takes precedence over Feminine: e.g.

ὅπως ἐν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται διαφυλίστων

677.7-8. (p.277.h.)

ὅπως ἐν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τιμῶν

τοῦς κρείας αὐτῶι παρεχομένους S.XIV.64.19-20. (271/0)

ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται [νω]νται

τιμῶντες

992.6-7. (p.179.s.)

ἐνεῖσι προσευχόμενοι κολλιστῶ, ἀφόρητος

1534.A.87. (292/1.π)

ἄγαθων ... καὶ Ζεύξιον ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ἡ ἰέρεια

[κα]τ[α]σταθέντες

1316.6-7.U. (272/1).

For the first 2 exx. see also B.1.b. below.

b) Feminine takes precedence over Neuter: e.g.

ἐν αἷς αἱ ὠρεαὶ ἦσαν γεγ[ραμμέν]αι καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα

448.67-68. (318/7)

Here the word order is significant i.e. the verb comes immediately after the Feminine Plural subject and before the Neuter Singular subject has even been mentioned.

c) Masculine Participle referring to a Neuter noun denoting males:

ὅπως ἐν οὖν καὶ τὰ γένη φαίνεται τιμῶντες

1235.9-10.U.(c.248/7).

See also B.3 below.

d) Masculine Pronoun referring to Neuter noun denoting males:

ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς φιλοτιμοῦ|μένοις εἰς αὐτοὺς ...
ἀποδοῖδωσιν.

1262.13-14.U.(301/300).

See also B.3 below.

2. Agreement of Relative Pronoun:

In 1534.A.(292/1.κ) there are several peculiarities of agreement of the Relative Pronoun with its antecedent. The Neuter δ or α frequently displaces the Masculine, even when the antecedent is composed of 2 elements neither of which is Neuter. I suggest that the reason is that the writer is thinking of the Relative Clause as "which (dedication/s : ἀναθημα(τα)) δ δεῖνα dedicated".

The exx. can be divided thus:-

a) Relative agrees with the nearer antecedent:

τύπος ἄνδρος κ[αὶ γυν]αικὸς καὶ πρόσωπον δ ἀνέθηκεν
1b.77.

[τύπ]ος, [ἔν]ι προσευχόμενος, καὶ στόμα δ 1b.79

τ]ύπος κατάρμακτος καὶ χεῖρ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐμ. πιν[α]κίωι ἦν
1b.65.

ὀφθαλμοὶ ἀργυροῦ δύο καὶ ὅσα ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ α 1b.117

For the first 3 exx. see also B.1.c. below.

b) Relative is δ , referring to Masculine Singular antecedent:

στά[φαν]ος χρυσοῦς, δ 1b.39.

τύπος πρὸς πινακίωι δ 1b.54.

τύπος ἐν ᾧ ἐνι κε[ράτ]ιον, δ 1b.55.

[ε]ύπος πρὸς πινακίωι, ἐνι σῶμα γυναικός, δ 1b.58.

τύ[πο]ς κατάρμακτος πρὸς πινακίωι, ἐνι προσευχόμενος, δ
1b.63.

referring to Feminine Singular antecedent:

σισυγὼν πρὸς πινακίωι, δ 1b.53.

c) Relative is ἃ referring to Masculine Singular and Masculine Plural antecedents:

τύπος ἐμ πινακίωι, ἐνι σῶμα ἄνδρος, ἃ 1b.57.

ἐν ἀριστερῶς τύποι : III : ἃ 1b.93.

[τύ]ποι ἀργυροῦ, ἐνι προσευχομένη, καὶ ἕτεροι [...]: Δ : ἃ
1b.42.

For the first ex. see also B.2 below.

d) Relative is ἃ referring to antecedent which is

(i) Masculine Plural + Neuter Singular

τύπο [ι οὐ]ο, ἐνι ὀφθαλμοί, χρ[υ]σοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς,
καὶ ὀφείδιον χρυσοῦν : ἃ 1b.83.

ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ α[ιδοῦ]ον δ 1b.108.

cf. Neuter Singular + Masculine Singular

σῶμα καὶ τύπος πρὸς πινακίωι δ 1b.52.

(ii) Masculine Singular + Masculine Plural

τύπος] ἀργυροῦς καὶ : + + + + [... ὀφ]θαλμοὶ δ
1b.68.

(iii) Masculine Plural + Feminine Singular

ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ῥίς δ 1b.120.

(iv) Compound antecedent of which only the latter part is known

καὶ τύπος δ 1b.35.

καὶ τύποι : [] δ 1b.36.

There are, however, several exx. of "normal" agreement e.g.

cf. b) :- σινηρο[ύς] δοκτύλιος, ὃν 1b.40.

τύπος κατὰ[μακ]τος, ὃν ὄντι θεός καὶ
προσευχόμενος, ὃν 1b.62.

φιᾶλη [λε] βα διάχρυσος ἦν 1b.41.

φιᾶλη διάχρυσος ἦν 1b.47.

cf. c) :- ὅτα δύο καὶ ὀδόντες οὗς 1b.55.

τύ]ποι ἐμ πινεπίωι τρεῖς, οὗς 1b.72.

οὗς πρὸς [πιν]α [ιᾶ]ωι δ 1b.50-51.

οὗς κατάρμακτον πρὸς πίνωμι, δ 1b.51.

ὅτα δύο κατάρματα πρ[ὸς πι]νωκ [ιᾶ]ωι δ 1b.50.

3. Agreement of Adjective and Possessive Pronoun:

a) Adjective agrees with nearer noun in Neuter

πολλὰ δὲ δοῦσα [κ]λῆρα κ[αὶ] στενοχάς.

G.1913.5-6.P.(in.s.iii.*).

b) Possessive Pronoun agrees with nearer noun in Masculine

πατρὶ δὲ σὺν καὶ μητρὶ G.1759.3.P.(300-250.*).

B. Number.1. Singular for Plural:

- a) in the formulae : εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτησιν ἀπέχοντι κτλ. e.g. 373.29-30.(322/1).
 εἶναι Ἀθηναῖον αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκγόνους e.g. 448.19-20.
 (318/7).

In both these expressions the important word is the pronoun "himself".

- b) in the following exx. ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος are sometimes conceived of as a singular entity, sometimes as a plural (cf. A.1.a. above) :

ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προσ|έταπτεν

500.16-17.(302/1)

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπήνεσαν τ|ε αὐτοὺς κολλῶντες ἡ βουλὴ καὶ

ὁ δῆμ|ος καὶ ἐστεφάνωσαν ἑκάστον αὐτῶν 1b.17-19.

ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ | [δ] ῆμος ἐκίσταται 505.41-42.(302/1)

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δ [ῆμος] ἐστεφεά|[ν]ωσαν * 656.8-9.(284/3)

ἡ τε βουλὴ καὶ | ὁ δῆμος ἐπεινέκασιν 1163.13-14.u.(284/3)

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται διαφυλ|ώτων

677.7-8.(p.277.h.)

ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τιμῶν τοὺς χρεῖας αὐτῷ

παρεχομένους S.XIV.64.19-20.(271/0)

ἡ βουλὴ κ[αὶ ὁ δῆμος φαί|ν]νται τιμῶντες 992.6-7.(p.179.s.).

(* For ἐστεφε-, see PH.II.B.6.a.(i).)

- c) For Singular Relative Pronoun referring to Plural antecedent, see

A.2.a. above.

d) Two-part Subject with Singular Verb:

ἡ τε φιλιὰ [α κ] αὖ ἡ εἰρήνη διοτηρή|ται 1304.6-7.U. (pp.211/10)

οἱ τε [στε] | φανοὶ καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναγραφῇ[σ] | εὔται

1262.10-12.U. (301/300)

But cf. ὧν αὐτῶν οἱ τ[ε] | νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα

προστέτ|τουσιν. 1163.10-12.U. (284/3)

προσέταττον οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσ|ματα 1299.61.U. (pp.236/5)

προσέταττον οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τ[α] | ψηφίσματα

H.S.I.74.29.31-32. (228/7).

It is perhaps significant that in these last 3 exx. ψηφίσματα
is always plural.

2. Plural for Singular:

For the Plural Relative Pronoun referring to Singular antecedent,
see A.2.c. above.

3. Neuter Plural Subject:

1 ex. of a Neuter Plural Subject denoting males with a Singular
Verb and a Masculine Plural Participle viz.

ἴπω[ς] | ὧν οὖν καὶ τὰ γένη φαίνεται τιμῶντες

1235.9-10.U. (c.248/7).

cf. ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τοῖς φιλοτιμοῦ|μένοις εἰς αὐτοὺς . . . |

ἀποδίδωσιν

1262.13-15.U. (301/300)

where a Neuter Singular Subject denoting males has a Singular Verb

and is referred to by a Masculine Plural Pronoun.

C. Assimilation of Case of Relative Pronoun:

1. when the antecedent is in the Genitive e.g.

ἀπογραφῆς, ἥ|ς ἀπέγραψεν Θεόδοτος 1631.292-293.(323/2)

θυσίων ὧν ἔθυσον H.S.I.74.29.10.(228/7)

ἀπὸ [ν]|των ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέτακτον 1b.20-21.

δικαιοσύνης ἥ|ς ἔχων διατελεῖ 1263.22-23.U.(300/299).

2. when the antecedent is in the Dative e.g.

ἱεροῖς οἷς ὧν θύωσ [L]|ν οἱ δημόται 1204.14.U.(f.s.iv.*)

ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθυσον H.S.I.120.64.7.(178/7).

D. Quasi-Substantival Usage of Relative Clause: e.g.

τοὺς ἀποδεικνυμένους ἧν ἔχουσιν αἵ|ρεσιν ἐμ παντί

καίρῳ 844.21-22.(193/2)

ἀποδεδογμένοι ἐμ πολλοῖς ἧν ἔ|χων εὐνοϊαν διετέλει

1326.4-5.U.(176/5)

ἀκήγγαλ [λ] εν| ἐν αἷς κεποιήται ουσίαις γεγονέναι τὰ

ἱερὰ καλῶ 950.7-8.(165/4).

E. 1. Omission of Verb:

a) sc. ἔστεφάνωσαν : there are numerous exx. of this from the honorary decrees e.g.

ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆ|μος τὸν τε|μίον τῆς β|ουλῆς ἀποδ|ίδωρον

Ἐρχι|έα.

H.S.I.74.29.39 ff.(228/7).

b) **sc.** ἀνέστη-ε(ν) /-αν : e.g.

*ἀριστονίκη ὀφθαλμοῦς χρυσοῦς καὶ ἀργυροῦς:

1534.A.91.(292/1.π)

*Ἀσκληπείωι ῥόδη | προστάξαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

4410.1-2.P.(2281/0)

οἱ ἐφηβέσαντες ἐκὶ Δη [. . . ἔρχοντος] | Ἑρμεῖ.

2981.10-11.Π.(160/59).

c) **sc.** ἐνίκα : e.g.

Ἀθηναίοι.

διοσυρᾶσθαι

3779.7-8.P.(ms.iii.π)

ἄνδρες

ἄνδρες

παγιδάτιον

πάλην

3147.2-3.P.(p.179.s.)

παῖδας δίδουλον τῆς δευτέρας ἡλικίας

956.44.(161/0); cf. *ib.* *passim*, and

957, 958.

2. Omission of Relative Pronoun:

The following *exx.* are in the form of a list without syntax:-

χεῖρ πρὸς πινακίωι, ἀνέστηκε : Γλυκερά :

1534.A.60.(292/1.π)

τύποι δύο κατὰμοκτοί, ἐνεστὶν προσευχόμενοι

ib. 87.

F. Apposition: there are the following peculiarities:-

1. Nominative in apposition to Genitive

[ἀπὸ τ]ῆς τετρήρους Ἀχιλλείας, Ἀριστ[οκράτ]ους |

ἔργον: 1631.165-167.(323/2)

ἀπὸ τῆς στρατηγίδος, Ἀλεξισάρχου ἔργον

1b.188.

cf. 1632 *passim*.

That ἔργον really refers to the Genitive is seen clearly from

τετρήρης Ἀχιλλείας, Ἀριστοκ[ράτ]ους | ἔργο[ν]:

1631.139-140.(323/2).

2. Nominative in apposition to Accusative

τούτου παρέ[δ]ομεν ὀφείλο[ντας ἔ] | πισκευδς

Εὐρπον Τριπορύσιος [ἐπισκε] | νην τριήρους ἡ[ω]τώνης,

... Τελ[εσά]ας Προβα[λίστιος] ... 1b.517 ff.

Note that both these peculiarities appear in lists and are not paralleled elsewhere.

II. The Cases.

(N.B. Where possible I give at least 1 ex. each from State, Sub-Unit and Private inscrs.)

A. Accusative:

1. a) Direct Object: e.g.

ὁμ]νύω Δία γ[ῆ]ν Ἑλλαν Ἰαση Ἀθηναῖν Ἀρε | [ίαν

687.54-55.(265/4)

τοῖς πλεούσι τὴν θάλατταν

682.13.(c.256/5)

τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τὰς π[όλ]ι[ς] εἰς

950.9-10.(165/4).

b) Cognate Accusative:

(i) kindred meaning and formation e.g.

ψηφισμοῦ ἐψηφίσατο 448.79.(318/7)
 πρεσβεῖας κατεπρεσβευκός H.V.422.15.22.(196/5).

[ε]ὴν πομπήν ... ἔπεμ[νευ]
 ἐπαρχεῖ ἣν ἐπάρχονται 1261.9.U.(302/1)
 1215.13-14.U.(p.221.s.).

(ii) kindred meaning only e.g.

νεκρήσαντος Λυσιμάχου ... [τη]ν μάχην 657.16-17.(283/2)

οἷος ἐνέκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν θησεῖον 956.43.(161/0)

cf. οἷος | ἱεροποιήσ[α]ν τὸ 'Αθήναια 1937.1-2.(156/5).

λομπάδι νεκρήσας Ἑρμαῖα 2980.3-4.U.(in.s.ii.*).

κόνον ... τόνδε | ἐλάτρευσε 3464.12-13.V.U.(s.iii.*).

c) Accusative of Respect: e.g.

σταθμὸν κληῖν[η] 1468.11.(321/0)

τριῶν βασιτύλων τὸ μέγεθος 1534.A.98.(292/1.*)

δυ]τας τὸν ἀριόμον ἐβδόμη[ν] [οντα II.II.503.16.11.(161/0).

δληκὴν [Δ]ΑΕΕΙΙΙ ὁραχιδε 1277.13-14.U.(278/7).

d) Adverbial Accusative: e.g.

καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μεθ' ὁμονοίας σώζωσιν τὰς πόλεις 687.34-35.(265/4)

καὶ τὸν Πειραιῶς κομίσσεται καὶ τὸ | φρούριον τὴν
 ταχίστην 657.35-36.(283/2)

χειροτονηθεῖς τε τὸ δευτέρου στρατηγός

1299.64.υ. (pp.236/5)

χειροτονηθεῖς [δδ] καὶ τὸ τρίτον στρατηγός

1304.21-22.υ. (pp.211/10).

ἐπ[ε] ἱ[ε]ρ[ε]ως κηραιοφάντος | ἁθ[η]ν[α]ς [ως] τὸ

κένυτον *

4675.4-5.Ρ. (m.s.iii.π).

μικρὰ μὲν εὐφ[ρ]άνας.

G.1913.5.Ρ. (in.s.iii.π).

(* For κένυτ-, see PH.II.F.2.a.(v).)

e) Accusative of Extent of Space: e.g.

δι[α]λείποντας ἐπὶ πόδας

463.59.(307/6)

ὑπερέχον μὴ ἐλατ[τ]ον τρέ' ἡμιπό[δ]ια

1b.64.

(For τρέ' ἡμιπό[δ]ια , see MO.I.E.2.)

f) Accusative of Duration of Time: e.g.

καρέμεινε πάντα τὸν χ[ρόνον]

502.18.(302/1.gr.)

ἔμεινε τὸν χρόνον

H.V.422.15.27.(196/5).

ἐμίσθυσαν τὸ χάρι[ς]ν ... ἔστη δόξα

1241.5-9.υ. (300/299)

λελειτούρ[γ] | [η]κεν ἔστη πλεῖω

1323.12-13.υ. (197/6)

ἐπὶ ἔτη γ[εν]ονό[ς].

G.1759.4-5.Ρ. (300-250.π).

g) Double Accusative: e.g.

πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα [α. εὐεργε]τήσαν τὸν δῆμον

399.8.(c.320/19.h.)

cf. τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους . . . εἰς ποιεῖν 493.15.(303/2).

καὶ δας εἴσθλον (sc. ἐνέκω) 956.44.(161/0)

cf. ἄνδρας εἴσθλον 1b.49.

καὶ δας πόλιν 1b.53.

καὶ δας πυγμὴν 1b.60.

For a similar type of expression, cf. C.1.e. below.

h) Internal Accusative after Passive Verb: e.g.

οἱ τὸ χεῖ διεζωμένοι * 1491.33.(306/5)

(* cf. MO.II.D.2.c.)

μαστιγῷ [σ] | ἐστὶ πεντήκοντα πληγὰς 1362.9-10.U.(f.s.iv.*):

2. Prepositions governing Accusative:

a) ἀνά : "along" e.g.

τέταρτος στίχος ἀνά μέσον τοῦ το [ί]χου 1534.A.86.(292/1.*).

b) διό : "on account of" e.g.

[ἐκ] εἰδὴ δὲ Εὐδήνωρ Εὐδηταίου δι' εὐεργεσίαν πρόξεν | [σ]ς
ἐγένετο 373.23-24.(322/1)

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἢ τε βουλὴ καὶ | ὁ δῆμος ἐκείνῃ κριν
αὐτὸν 1163.13-14.U.(284/3).

c) εἰς : (i) Place: e.g.

παραγενόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν 450.a.18.(314/3)

καταλευσας εἰς τὸν | Παιραῖα 844.53-54.(193/2)

οἱ παραγινόμενοι εἰς Ἑλευσίνα 1299.43.0.(pp.236/5).
 ἀναγράψαι . . . εἰς στήλην λιθίνην(formula) e.g. 674.21-22.(273/2);
 cf. d.(i) and C.2.a.(i) below.

γαῖα μὲν εἰς φῶς ἦρε G.1759.1.F.(300-250.†).

(ii) Time: e.g.

ὥπως δ' ἔν καὶ εἰς τὸ [ν] λο [ἐπὶ] ν χρόνον | ὡς βέλτισ[τα]

ἦι [εἰ] τ [εσκευασμ] εἰ [ν] α 380.34-35.(320/19)

ὁ ἡμαρχος εἰς τὸν ἐπὶ ἐέλοπος ἄρχοντος ἐνιωντ[ὺν]

949.31.(165/4)

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτέλειαν τοῦ πλοῦ εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα

S.XV.112.26.U.(225/4).

δοῦναι . . . τὴν ψῆφον εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν

(formula) e.g. 393.6-8.(b.321/0-319/8)

cf. ὥπως ἔν | δοθεῖ τῇι θεῶι εἰς τὰ Παναθηναῖα.

657.14-15.(283/2).

(iii) with Numerals: "up to" e.g.

ἐμίσθωσαν τὸ ἱερὸν . . | . . εἰς δέκα ἔτη 2499.2-4.U.(306/5)

(i.e. the contract can be declared invalid before the time expires
 if the terms are not adhered to.)

εἰσφέροντες τὰς εἰσφορὰς . . | . . τὰς εἰς τὰ δέκα τάλαντα

505.14-15.(302/1)

πληρῶσιν | δικαστήριον εἰς ἕνα καὶ πεντακοσίους |
 δικαστὰς 850.17-19.(197/6)
 προσεσκήνευσε χρήματα .. | .. εἰς τὰ εἴκοσι τέλαιντα τὰ
 συμφωνηθέντα 844.8-9.(193/2).

(iv) Purpose: e.g.

εἰς ὅδ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν .. δοῦναι .. ὀραχμᾶς
 (formula) e.g. 393.11-13.(b.321/0-
 319/8)
 εἰς τ[ε] τὴν οἰκοδομίαν .. | .. ἐλσφέροντες 505.12-14.(302/1)
 εἰς τὰς οὐσίας | ἀνηλώσασιν 847.31-32.(215/4).
 τὸ ὅδ ἀργύριον .. τὸ εἰς τοὺς στεφάνου |
 1202.10-11.υ.(313/2)
 παρασκευάζειν εἰς πώμασι [ν] | τοῦ ἱεροῦ περισσεύον
 659.23-24.(283/2)
 ἐπὶκρούσεν τῷ δήμῳ εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν
 666.11.(266/5).

(v) Disposition towards: e.g.

εὐ]νοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον 456.b.10.(307/6)
 φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν 844.25.(193/2)
 δικαιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τ[ὸν] δῆμον 1202.7-8.υ.(313/2)
 ἀνδρα [ν] | [α]θείας τῆς εἰς τὸ κοινόν 1261.13-14.υ.(302/1)
 φιλοτιμουμένοις εἰ [α] δα [ν] | δ[ν] 505.43.(302/1)
 εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβοῦμεν 1275.10.υ.(in.s.iii.*)

cf. h.(iii) and i.(ii) below.

d) ἐπί : (i) Place: e.g.

ἐπεὶ[ζε[ι]] ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν 653.17-18.(285/4)

ἐπεισ[ε]ροτεύσαντας ἐπὶ τε τοὺς Ἑλληνας
680.10.(249/8)

καρτερώλεσεν ὁδ[ὲ] [καὶ τοῦ]ς πολῖτας ἕκα[ντας] ἐπὶ τὴν
οὐσίαν 1299.11-12.U.(pp.236/5)

ἀναγράφαι καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν | στήλην
1322.20-21.U.(p.179.s.); cf. c.(i)
above and C.2.a.(i) below.

(ii) Extent of Space: e.g.

τοὺς ἀ[ρ]μοὺς ποιήσαντα ἐπὶ ἡμιπόδιον συντιθεῖναι
ἀσφαλίστους 1682.13-14.(285/4).

(iii) Time: e.g.

χορηγὸς καταστά[θεις] ἐπὶ οὗο ἔτη τ[ῆ]ι ...
H.IV.41.9.3.U.(f.s.iv.π).

(iv) "in charge of" e.g.

στρωτήγος χειροτονηθεὶς ἐπὶ | τὴν παροσκευὴν
682.22-23.(c.256/5)

στρωτήγος ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν τὴν παλαιάν
2856.9.U.(c.250/49).

cf. B.2.1.(iii) below.

(v) Purpose: e.g.

ὁ ἔλαβεν ἐπὶ τὴν εἴησαν 1632.5.(323/2)

χρεῖαν παρέχεσθαι ἐ[πεὶ] τὰ συμφέροντα

641.24-25.(299/8).

(vi) other usages:

παραγεγονός ὅδε [καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν] ἐπεὶ σχολὴν τὴν ἀνα-

στ[ροφὴν εὐσχημό]νως πεπόνηται 785.13-15.(196/5)

ἐφ' ὅσον ἐστὶν δυνατός ἀποδείκνυσθαι [τὴν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον]

[εὐνοίαν 903.11-12.(c.176/5).

e) κατὰ : (i) "according to", "relating to" e.g.

ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῶι δῆμῳ

(formula) e.g. 393.13-15.(b.321/0 - 319/8)

τῆς κατὰ φιλοσοφίαν παιδείας 886.9.(193/2.gr.).

ὅτι <τε>μηθήσονται κατ' ἀξίαν ἐκαστος

1271.20.υ.(299/8.*)

εὐνοῦ]ς τοῦ ὃν διατ[έλει] κατ' ἰδίαν ἐκαστῶι

II.XI.295.58.5-6.υ.(152/1).

Αὐτὸ ὁδόν | κατὰ μαντεῖαν | ἀνέστημε. 4602.4-6.P.(f.s.iv.*)

Τιμοθεῖα | ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν | κατὰ πρόσταγμα.

4671.3-5.P.(s.iv/iii.*).

(ii) Place: e.g.

καὶ τὸν δὲ [ρθδ]ν κατὰ κεφαλὴν πλοῦτος ἐπεὶ δαυτεῦλον

πλοῦτος παλαστήης, 463.64-65.(307/6)

κατὰ γῆν καὶ | κατὰ θάλατ[ταν] 653.19-20.(285/4)

τῆς τε φυλακῆς δὲ | περιελήθη τῆς κατὰ τὴν χώραν

S.XV.113.5-6.U.(215/4).

(iii) Time: e.g.

κατὰ χειμῶνα | ἀπολωλῶναι 1631.344-345.(323/2)

καθ' ὃν καιρὸν συνέρη 844.5.(193/2).

(iv) Distributively: e.g.

καθ' ἑκάστων τῶν δὲ | [ν]εανῶν 505.14-15.(302/1)

]κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη 885.7.(c.200.h.)

κατ' ἐνιαυτῶν 1165.19.U.(300-250.π);

H.XI.265.51.7.U.(in.s.ii.π)

κατὰ μῆνα 1299.8.U.(pp.236/5).

f) μετὰ : "after" e.g.

μετὰ τὰ ἑσπεία 448.77.(318/7)

τῶν μετὰ "το | αρχου θυμφο[χο]ύντα 1193.14-15.U.(f.s.iv.π).

g) παρὰ : (i) Place: e.g.

στ[η]σαι . . . | . . . κλην παρ' ἀρμόδιον καὶ | ἀριστογέστον [α].

450.b.9-12.(314/3)

cf. στήσαι παρὰ τὴν εἰκόνα· 844.30.(193/2).

ἀνατρεφεῖ τὸ γ[ε]ν[ε]σ[ι]ς ἡπο[δ]ισμα[τ]ος ὁρθ[ῶ]ν κ[α]ρὰ πλεῦραν

463.63-64.(307/6)

κλινθεῖ]δας ἐνολλὰς παρὰ τὴν ἐπολὲς [ε]ν ib.79-80; cf.81.

τοῖς [ς] | τε διατρέφουσιν Ἰουδαίων κα[ρ]α[τ]ῶν ἐναντιον

654.22-24.(285/4)

In this last ex. the Accusative is used with a verb of "rest", because previous motion towards is implied.

στήσαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ παρὰ τὸ ὄργανον τοῦ θεοῦ

2501.22.U.(f.s.iv.κ).

(ii) "contrary to" e.g.

παρὰ τὸν νόμον 1275.14.U.(in.s.iii.κ)

παρὰ ταῦτα ποιεῖ 1328.11-12.U.(183/2).

h) περὶ : (i) "with regard to", "concerning" e.g.

δοκεῖ περὶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς νε[κ]ρω[σ]ις. 1631.400-401.(323/2)

τάλλα ἐπιμε[ν]εῖται ... πε[ρ]ὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν

1261.32-34.U.(301/300)

πρόνοια ἐποιεῖτο τοῦ μεγάλου βασιλέως γίνεσθαι πε[ρ]ὶ

τὴν χώραν 1225.14-15.U.(c.250.h.)

There may also be a notion of "place" in this last ex.

(ii) Number: e.g.

ὄντας περ[ὶ] πεντήκοντα 545.10-11.(p.318/7.h.).

(iii) Disposition towards (? "in dealings with") e.g.

εὐνοίας ἣς ἔχων διατελεῖ π[ρ]ὸς τὸν δῆμον

657.59-60.(283/2)

φιλοτιμίας ἣν ἔχοντες διατελοῦσιν περὶ τὸν δῆμον

668.21-22.(266/5)

δικαιοσύνης ἣς ἔχων διατελεῖ περὶ τὴν ἑρ|εχομένην φυλήν.

1165.29-30.U.(300-250.*)

cf. c.(v) above and i.(ii) below.

(iv) Place: e.g.

περὶ μὲν με λέων

G.1601.2.P.(in.s.iii.*).

i) πρὸς : (i) Place: e.g.

προσαγαγεῖν ... πρὸς τὸν δῆμον

(formula) e.g. 394.5-6.(b.321/0 - 319/8)

τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους ... πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα

495.14-15.(303/2)

ἀφικνουμένοις πρὸς τὸν | βασιλέα

1225.5-6.U.(c.250.h.).

(ii) Disposition towards: e.g.

ἔ|χων εὖνοίαν πρὸς τὸν δῆ[μον] 399.10-11.(c.320/19.h.)

εὐ|σεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς 678.18-19.(p.256/5)

δικαιοσύνης ἣ|ς ἔχων διατελεῖ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν

1263.22-23.U.(300/299)

εὐσεβείας ἔνε|κα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς

1320.9-10.U.(p.245.s.)

φιλοτιμούμεν [οι] | πρὸς τὴν βουλήν 847.32-33.(215/4)

cf. c.(v) and h.(iii) above.

The following exx. perhaps show more of the meaning "in dealings with" (cf. h.(iii) above):

τὰ φιλόανθρωπα πρὸς τοὺς ἀξιούς | πρέσβηται

844.59-60.(193/2)

πρὸς τοὺς ... ὀργεῶνας οἰκείως [δ] | λαοῖμενοι

1283.12-13.U.(263/2)

ἀπολούθως .. | .. τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸν δῆμον αἰρέσει

1225.15-16.U.(c.250.h.)

cf. ἔπραττεν π | ρὸς τε τοὺς στρατηγοὺς

1193.6-7.U.(f.s.iv.κ).

(iii) "with reference to" e.g.

καὶ ὁρθοὺς πρὸς τὸν διαβήτην 1678.a.7.(a.315.h.)

τὰ μέτωπον κοιήσας πρὸς τὴν κα [τ]αφορὰ [ν]

463.66.(307/6)

τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτορίαν

682.18.(c.256/5)

τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς

839.45.(221/0)

τὰ πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν

1281.9.U.(c.266.h.)

πρὸς τε δικαιοσύ [ν] ἡν

G.1691.2.P.(m.s.iii.κ).

(iv) of a relationship between 2 parties: e.g.

τὰ σύντολα .. | .. τὰ πρὸς Τηνίους 466.b.32-33.(307/6.h.)

cf. τῶν πρὸς Ἄγρων μυστηρίων

847.22.(215/4).

(v) other usages: e.g.

μεμαρτύρηται αὐτῷ ... πρὸς τοὺς π[ρ]εσβυτέρους

Ἀθηναίων 657.37-38.(283/2)

πρὸς τοὺς λογιστὰς καὶ τὰς | εὐθύνας ἔδωκεν

956.21-22.(161/0).

j) ὑπὲρ : "beyond" (of measure) e.g.

ὑπὲρ τὰς ὀσχιλίας ἑξακοσίας ἐνενηήκοντα δραχμὰς

956.19.(161/0)

τοὺς μισθῶ | [σ]ιμένους ὑπὲρ : Δ : δραχμὰς

2498.3-4.υ.(321/0).

k) ὑπὸ : "under" (the command of) e.g.

τ]ῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένων 1304.35.υ.(pp.211/0)

τεταγμένων ὑφ' αὐτὸν S.XV.113.12.υ.(215/4).

Note the idea of Motion involved here: they are not "under his command" until they have been placed there.

B. Genitive:

1. a) Time: e.g.

ὁὶς τοῦ ἐν|λου|τοῦ 772.11-12.(268/7)

ὅτε δεῖ ταμ|ε|ύοντι ... ἐκαστοῦ τοῦ ἐν|λου|τοῦ

2499.19-21.υ.(306/5)

ἐπιροφοριῶνος (i.e. "during Skirophorion")

1539.1.(215/4)

τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος μηνός

1168.7.U.(s.iii.?).

b) Place: e.g.

ἡλίου δυομένου ὁδός (i.e. on the West there is a road)

1587.16.(f.s.iv.✱)

cf. ἡλίου ἀνιόντος ὁδός, δυομένου κτλ.

1241.10-11.U.(300/299).

φιδί]λαι ὀπισθεν τῆς οὐ[ρας]δεξιῶς εἰσιόντι

1487.A.40-42.(f.s.iv.✱)

cf. ὀπισθε τῆς οὐ[ρας] ἐν ἀριστερῶς τύποι:

1534.A.93.(292/1.✱)

where either ἐν ἀριστερῶι or ἐξ ἀριστερῶς should be read.

c) Separation: e.g.

ἀπέχοντι τῶν [εἰ]σι γῶν

373.30.(322/1)

θανότου λύσις

G.1699.1.P.(in.s.iii.✱).

d) Measure: e.g.

μῆκος τεττάρων ποδῶν καὶ πέντε | λακτύλων

1678.a.32-33.(a.315.h.)

τριῶν λακτύλων τὸ μέγεθος

1534.A.98.(292/1.✱)

(* For τεττάρων, see PH.II.F.1.a.(iii).)

e) Partitive: e.g.

ιστίου τῶν λεπτῶν

1631.436.(323/2).

f) Price/Value: e.g.

ἐμίσθωσαν τὸ ἔργον καὶ | ... ἰσθμίων

2499.4-5.U.(306/5)

ἐπλήρωσαν πλεονος ἢ τοῦ διπλα|σίου

1631.359-360.(323/2).

g) Ablatival Usage: e.g.

σπουδῆς οὐθὲν ἐχλείπων

956.10.(161/0)

οὐθὲν ἐνλείπων φιλοτιμίας

S.XV.113.9.U.(215/4).

h) Possessor: e.g.

Ἑρμοῦ καὶ | Λιδος Σωτήρος.

4972.P.(f.s.iv.κ)

Κητροῦ [θε] | ὧν καὶ Ἀρ|τεμιδος. 4670.P.(s.iv/iii.κ)

These are exx. of the recipient of a dedication in the Genitive case.

cf. C.1.g. below for the following ex.:

τῶν δημοτῶν ἔστω ὁ καρπὸς ὁ πλεῖων 2498.22.U.(321/0).

i) Comparison: e.g.

πλεον ἐξ ὅσων [τ] ὄλων

463.55.(307/6)

πλεον ἰσθμίων

H.XI.290.56.19.(247/6)

τοῦ νόμου κυριώτερον

1275.13-14.U.(in.s.iii.κ)

μὴ πλεον τῆς προσόδου

H.XI.283.55.16.U.(p.260.s.).

j) Genitive Absolute: e.g.

φόρων καὶ | [...] τοῦς] Ἑλλήνας περιστάτων

457.b.9-10.(307/6)

ψηφισαμένων τῶν θανατηδένων μισθὸν αὐτῷ δ' ἰδούσθαι ἐκ
τοῦ κοινοῦ 1263.16-18.U.(300/299)
προστέλλωντος τοῦ θεοῦ 4410.2.P.(?281/0).

k) Verbs with Object in Genitive:

(i) "caring for" e.g.

ἐπιμέλεισθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ 373.31.(322/1)
προνοοῦμενο [ς τ]ῶν ὑφ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένων τῆς |
ἐὐσχημοσύνης 1304.35-36.U.(pp.211/0).

(ii) "needing" e.g.

δῶν του δέωνται 448.81.(318/7)
προσδεῖσθαι | ἐπισκευῆς 1322.2-3.U.(p.179.s.).

(iii) "remembering" e.g.

μεμνησθαι ὧν ὧν εἰ πάθῃ 448.84.(318/7)
μεμνη [μ] ἔνοι αὐτοῦ 1326.24.U.(176/5).

(iv) "leading" e.g.

ἡγούμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν 500.14.(302/1). This is the
only ex. of this verb + Genitive. There are no exx. + Dative.

ἄ[ρ]χει τῆς μισοῦσας 1241.29-30.U.(300/299).

(v) "sharing" e.g.

ὧν μέτεστι | ν αὐτῷ 1204.6-7.U.(f.s.iv.*)
μεθεξουσιν τῶν ἱερῶν 1325.26.U.(185/4).

(vi) "aiming at" e.g.

προβέβηκας εἰς τὴν τοφὴν τοῦ | ἐὐσχημονεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ
τετελευτηκότας 1327.11-12.U.(173/7)
φιλοτιμοῦνται αἱ ἑβραῖαι τοῦ κατασθεῖναι αὐτῇ [ν] | διὰ

βίου ζώοιρον τεῖ θεῷ. 1328.34-35.U.(175/4)

Note how φιλοτιμεῖσθαι is here used with the Genitive = "am eager to". The normal Attic construction is the Infinitive in this sense.

(* For ε > εἰ, see PH.I.A.1.d.(1).)

1) Verb of Condemning compounded with κατά :

Συκοφίλος . . . | . . . κατέγνωσεν 1631.352-353.(323/2).

m) with Adjectives and Adverbs: e.g.

ἱερὸς Ἀθηνῆς ἢ [οἱ] ἄλλοι 1474.15.(318/7). There are
no exx. of ἱερὸς + Dative.

ἀλειτουργήτους | εἶναι τῶν ἔργων τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιτείαν
682.17-18.(c.256/5)

δοῦν ἂν φαίνεται ἄξιός εἶναι 844.70.(193/2)

ἀνάξια τοῦ ἱεροῦ 995.10.(m.s.11.π)

cf. ἄξιως τῆς εὐνοίας 507.21.(c.302/1)

καταξίως ἂν ἐμμεργετήσῃ 844.28.(193/2).

ἀνεπιτίμητον τῷ [ν] τε ἐγθικ[α] | ἄντων καὶ πολέμων
ἐγβολῆς 1241.14-15.U.(300/299)

(* For εἰ > ἐγ before μ and θ, see PH.II.D.1.a. and c.)

μηθευδὸς τῶν δυνατῶ [ν] ἀπράπτους γενομένους

cf. ἄξιως τοῦ θεοῦ

1225.6-7.U.(c.250.h.)

1271.7.U.(299/8.π).

n) with Nouns:

(i) "son of", υ(ι)ός normally not expressed e.g.

Εδουγένης Πρωιστοδότηου Κηφι [σ][λε]ός

373.17-18.(323/2).

1 exception viz.

Θράσιππος | Θρασίππου | Αρτοκόπου | υιός.

11,681.P.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

cf. VIII.F.1.Type 1 below.

(ii) "daughter of", with or without θυγάτηρ e.g.

Πολυκράτειρα | Αιονυσοδώρου Αθμονέως | θυγάτηρ

3863.2-4.U.(p.179.s.)

ἐκ Λερείας Θεοδότης Πολυόκτου.

3472.5.U.(200-150.κ).

cf. VIII.F.1.Type 2 below.

(iii) with ἱέρει(α) i.e. "priestess of" e.g.

Ἀγλαύρου ἱέρεια

3459.1.U.(in.s.iii.κ).

ἱέρειαν | πομέσεως

3462.4-5.U.(f.s.iii.κ).

2. Prepositions governing Genitive.

a) ἄνευ : "without" e.g.

βέλη ποταμοαλτῶν π | ἄνευ σωμάτων

1469.78-79.(321/0)

κά] | τροπὰ μίαν Γ III ἄνευ ἐλύτρων

1471.48-49.(318/7).

b) ἀντὶ : (i) "instead of" e.g.

ἀντὶ τούτων παρέδοσαν π/σχεα : δύο :

1631.416-417.(323/2)

ἐν αἷς ἐνὶ ἱππεύς καὶ δαλίτης καὶ ἰέν[ως ἑσπῶς] ἀντὶ
τοῦ Μενωταύρου

1534.A.99.(292/1.)*.

ἀντὶ γάμων οἱ τοῦτο τὸ σῆμ' ἔλαχον·]

G. 1361.6.P.(p.179.s.).

(ii) "in return for" e.g.

ἀνθ' ὧν αὐτὸν ὁ σῆ[μ]ος ἐπέδνεσεν 1304.10.U.(pp.211/10)

ἀνθ' ὧν . . . ἐπέμνησεν | αὐτὸν 1326.21-22.U.(176/5).

c) ἀπὸ : (i) Place: e.g.

διὰ] εἰπόντες ἀπ' ἀλλήλων 463.5.(307/6)

Μέν[ανδ]ρος Μενέππου 'Αχαιὸς ἀπ' Ἄργους
2314.17.(p.191.)*

ἀφ' ἑκτοῦ ἀκοντέζων 958.95.(154/3).

ἱερῆς ἀπὸ γῆδος ἰόντες G.1601.5.P.(in.s.iii.)*.

(ii) Time: e.g.

ἀπὸ θεμιδοκλέους ἄρχοντος 505.16.(302/1)

καὶ ἀπὸ βουλῆς διακλησά 897.5.(184/3).

(iii) Value: e.g.

στε] φανῶι ἀπὸ : κ : [δραχμῶν 385.8-9.(319/8)

ἀρεστήριον ἀπὸ πέντε καὶ ὀκτώ δρα|χμῶν
839.46-47.(221/0)

στεφάνος ἀπὸ πεντακισίων δραχμῶν 1202.9.U.(313/2)

ἀν|αθήματι ἀλλ' : Ν : δραχμῶν 1263.24-25.υ.(300/299).

(iv) Source: e.g.

δοῦναι αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ : ΔΔ : δραχ(μῶν)
1261.50.υ.(300/299)

ἀφ' ὧν κατεσκευάσατο τὸ | ὑγάλμα τοῦ Λιονύσου
1326.16-17.υ.(176/5)

οὔτειν ... ἀπὸ τῆς προ|σόδου τῆς γινομένης
1322.19-20.υ.(p.179.s.).

(v) Means: e.g.

δραχμῶν ... τοῦς κίονας ... ἀπὸ | λιστ[ρ]ῶ^{*}
1678.a.4-5.(a.315.h.)

[το]ῦ [ς] ἁρμοῦς [ς] πὸ ξοῖδος τιθεῖς [ς] ρ[γ]ομετώπου | [ς]
463.40-41.(307/6).

(* For ο written for ου, see OR.I.C.)

d) διὰ : (i) Time: e.g.

διὰ παντός τοῦ βίου 457.b.15.(307/6)

διὰ βίου 1326.35.υ.(176/5).

(ii) Means: e.g.

δι' ἐλαττόνων ἀ[ναλ]ωμάτων 774.c.17.(c.250/49.h.)

διὰ τοῦ οὐ 834.3.(pp.229.h.)

δι' οὗ τρόπου II.V.422.15.17.(196/5).

e) ἐκ : (i) Place: e.g.

ἐκ Κρήτης ἀπέστ[ειλε] 399.16.(c.320/19.h.)

ἐξέβαλε ἐκ τῆς ἀγορ[ᾶς] 448.46.(318/7)

f) ἔμπροσθε(ν) : "in front of" e.g.

ἔμπροσθεν [τ]οῦ βουλευτηρίου 487.20.(304/3)

ἔμπροσθε τοῦ συνα|δρίου H.VII.100.18.39-40.(282/1).

g) ἕνεκα/ἕνεκεν : "on account of" e.g.

φιλοτιμίας ἕνε[κα/κεν]|[ε]πιμελείας 373.28-29.(322/1)

ἕνεκεν | τοῦ κοινοῦ συμφέροντος H.V.422.15.10-11.(196/5).

Note in the second ex. that this is the only instance of the preposition preceding the noun; and also that the participle has taken on full substantival status so that it is qualified by an adjective.

(* see VO.I.A.)

h) ἔξω : "out of", only 1 ex. viz.,

ἐκφορήσαντα τῇν γ|ῆν ἔξω τοῦ ἱεροῦ 1682.5-6.(285/4).

i) ἐπὶ : (i) Place: e.g.

ἐ[ξεί]|ναι ὁδὸν αὐτῶν καὶ εἰκὼνα στ|ῆσαι ἐκπτοῦ χαλκῆν

ἐφ' ἑκπ|ου ἐν ἀγορῇ 450.b.7-10.(314/3)

ἐπὶ τ[οῦ] πε[ρί]χους 463.27.(307/6)

τὸ θέατρον τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ σταδίου 1682.6.(285/4)

τοῖς ο[τραι]|[ε]νομένοις ἐπὶ Δουνίου

1281.9-10.U.(c.266.h.)

τοῦς ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοίου ὑπηρέτας S.XV.112.14.U.(225/4).

(ii) Time: e.g.

ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου ἄρχον[τος] 365.a.1.(323/2)

ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμο|υ τοῦ προτέρου 493.19-20.(303/2)

ἐπὶ τῶν καιρῶν

1214.6.U.(300-250.*).

(iii) "in charge of" e.g.

στρατηγήσαντα ἐπὶ τῶν ὅπλων

3079.13.(282/1)

cf. the following exx. in which "place" may also be involved:-

στρωτ[η]γῆς | ἀντα ἐπὶ Ἐλευ[σ]ίνος 3460.13-15.(251/0)

στρωτηγὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ Πει[ρ]αιέως 1225.8.U.(c.250.h.)

στρωτηγὸς ἐπ' Ἐλευσίνος 1299.64.U.(pp.236/5).

αἰρεθέντες | ἐπὶ τοῦ ἑεροῦ

2945.2-3.U.(s.iii/ii.*).

cf. A.2.d.(iv) above.

(iv) other usage:

διαμεμενηκὼς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς | αἰρέσεως

H.V.422.15.26-27.(196/5).

j) μετὰ : (i) "with" of persons e.g.

μετ' Ἀθηναίων

505.54.(302/1)

μετὰ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑεροποιῶν τῶν αἰρεθέντων

μετ' οὗτοῦ

S.XV.112.17-18.U.(225/4).

(ii) "with" in other usages e.g.

καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν μετ' ὁμοφρονίας σὺνέλασιν τὰς πόλεις

687.34-35.(265/4)

ἔνα ... συννη[ο]μισθεῖσιν οἱ ἐν γῆς | [κ]αρποὶ μετ'

ἀσφαλείας

H.XI.290.56.11-12.(247/6)

διαλ[ε] | χθεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ποινητῶν χρησέμων μετ' αἱ

καρ[ρ]οη[σ]ίας *

H.IV.525.39.19-21.(226/5)

αἴτιος γεγο|νός μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας τοῦ διατηρῆσαι
τὸν ὄμιον [εἰ]ὴν αὐτονομίαν. H.V.422.15.28-30.(196/5)

διατελεῖ μετ' εὐνοίας | ἀπογράφων τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν

1235.6-7.U.(c.248/7)

ὅπω[ς ἐκ τῆς χώρας οἱ σῆ]|τοι μετ' ἀσφαλείας εἰσενεχθῶσιν.

1299.66-67.U.(pp.236/5).

(^{*} For ρρ > ρ, see PH.IIA.4.b.(iii).)

k) μέχρι : (i) Place: e.g.

μέχρι τῶν ... πωλῶν

463.121.(307/6)

μέχρι τοῦ κηφ[ι]σοῦ

ib.122.

βάθος μέχρι τοῦ στερίφου

1682.5.(285/4).

(ii) Time: e.g.

μέχρι τοῦ κο|υνιχιῶνος

II.XI.290.56.18-19.(247/6).

(iii) Value: e.g.

μέχρι τρισχιλῶ[ν]

947.4.(166/5.gr.)

ζημιοῦντε [ς ...]|... μέχρι δραχμῶν π[εν]τήκον [τα

1328.12-13.U.(183/2).

l) ὀπισθε(ν) : "behind" e.g.

ὀπισθεν τῆς οὐ[ρας]

1487.A.41.(f.s.iv.κ)

ὀπισθε τοῦ κρατ[ήρος]

H.XIII.256.11.c.31.(c.166.κ).

m) παρὰ : (i) "from" of persons e.g.

παῖδός τε συναπέστειλεν παρ' ἑαυτοῦ 584.15.(f.s.iv.κ)

εὐρέσθαι ἀγαθὸν | [π]αρὰ τῆς βουλῆς 844.69-70.(193/2)

χαριτα|ς ἀπολήψονται παρὰ τῶν θιασώτῶν

1263.29-30.U.(300/299)

ἔδωκε ...|... παρ' ἑαυτοῦ

S.XV.112.15-16.U.(225/4)

παρὰ τῶν παιδῶν κομίσσεσθαι

G.1691.7.P.(m.s.iii.✱).

(ii) Agent: e.g.

δεδομένως παρὰ τοῦ δήμου

448.16.(318/7)

δίδοται ἡ προεδρία παρὰ ἡγε|ιραιῶν

1214.24-25.U.(300-250.✱).

n) περὶ : (i) "concerning" e.g.

περὶ τῶν ἀπαγγέλ| [λαί ὁ ἄρχων

781.8-9.(250/49)

καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων | τούτων ὑπάρ|χουσιν αἱ ἀποδείξεις

1326.18-19.U.(176/5).

cf. q.(iv) below.

(ii) "above, superior to" e.g.

περὶ κ|λεινοῦς ποιοῦμενοι

1165.22-23.U.(300-250.✱).

o) πλησίον : "near", only 1 ex. viz.

πλησίον τῆς στήλ [η]| [ς

525.3-4.(f.s.iv.✱).

p) πρό : (i) Place:

πρό τοῦ | ναοῦ

1315.27-28.U.(211/10).

(ii) Time: e.g.

πρό τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν

790.10.(235/4)

ἔξεῖναι ...|... ἐνεχυράζειν πρό δέκκης

1241.36-37.U.(300/299).

(iii) "on behalf of"

πρό φίλης πνεύμα ἑλπίας πατριδος.

G.40.6.(287/6).

q) ὑπέρ : (i) Place, only 1 ex. viz

τοῦ διπύλου τοῦ ὑπὲρ τῶν πυλῶν 463.53.(307/6).

(ii) "on behalf of" e.g.

ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 448.45.(318/7)

ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου 1163.7.υ.(284/3).

(iii) "because of" e.g.

ὑπὲρ οὗ τοῦτων ἀπάντων δεδόχθαι τοῖς διασώταις 1271.14-15.υ.(299/8.κ)

καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον ὑπὲρ
τῶν πᾶσι εὐθύνα[ς] δ' ἔδωκεν 1270.12-14.υ.(298/7.κ).

(iv) = περὶ : cf. n.(1) above.

I have not found any *exx.* of this before the third century, but the usage becomes increasingly common as the period progresses. The earliest State *ex.* is

ὑπὲρ τούτων π[ό]ντων πολ[ι]τικῶς μεμορτύρηκεν αὐτῶι ὁ
βασιλεὺς 657.36-37.(283/2).

It is interesting to trace the development of the formulaic expression of the type : "concerning the things which X. did concerning ...", because it shows to some extent how περὶ comes to be replaced by ὑπὲρ in the later *inscrr.*

At first the expressions are found in the form περὶ ὧν - verb - subject - ὑπὲρ - : e.g.

περὶ ὧν ἀπο[γγέλλου]σιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχείδος
ὑπὲρ τῶν ἱερῶν 674.4-5.(273/2)

περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ[ουσιν οἱ] ἐπιμεληταὶ τῶν μυστηρίων
ὑπὲρ τῆ[ς] οὐσίας 661.7-9.(267/6)

περὶ ὧν ἀ[παγγέλλ]· εἰ δ' ἀγωνοθέτης ὑπὲρ τῶν θουσιῶν

780.6-7.(252/1).

The earliest ex. of ὑπὲρ ὑπὲρ is

ὑπὲρ ὧ[ν] ἀπ[αγγέλλουσιν οἱ] πρ[ὸ] τῶ[ν] [ναις] ὑπὲρ

τῶν θουσιῶν

702.8-9.(256/5.π)

cf. 790.8-9.(235/4); H.S.I.74.29.9-10.(228/7); 917.8-9.(223/2.π);

S.XIV.68.7-8.(214/3); 890.6-7.(188/7.gr.); H.S.I.120.64.4-5.(178/7);

S.XVI.90.6-7.(174/3); S.XVI.95.7-8.(164/3).

and cf. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Ἐλευσινίων

ὑπὲρ τῶν θουσιῶν

949.6-7.(165/4).

The last ex. quoted for περὶ+ ὑπὲρ is in fact the last ex. of that combination. It can be seen, therefore, that the first double ὑπὲρ roughly coincides in date with this. But it should be noted that, apart from this type of expression, there are several exx. of περὶ in other expressions throughout the whole period e.g.

καὶ περὶ τούτων ἀπάντων τοὺς τε λόγους ἀ[π]ενήνοχον

πρὸς τοὺς λογιστάς

847.27-28.(215/4)

καὶ περὶ ἀπάντων ὧν διακονοῦμεν ἀπενήνοχεν λόγους

εἰς τὸ μητροῶν

956.20-21.(161/0); cf. 958.

16-17.(152/1).

In Sub-Unit inscr. there is only 1 ex. in which ὑπὲρ may be equivalent to περὶ viz.

[...?...]ν ὑπὲρ ὑγιεινῶς καὶ[H.III.44.33.3.U.(in.s.iii.π).

The immediate context is so destroyed that one cannot be sure exactly what meaning to give to ὑπὲρ. But the following ex. may strengthen the suggestion that it equals περὶ :

περὶ ὑγιεινῆς καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ ὁμονοίας

S.XV.112.10.U.(225/4).

There are no Private exx.

r) ὑπὸ : "by", (i) with Passive verbs: e.g.

ὅπως ἂν | [μ]ηδ' ὑφ' ἐνός ἀδικῶνται 505.57-58.(302/1)

ἀπεσταλμένος εἰς Δελφοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν πολιτῶν

844.54.(193/2).

(ii) with Active verbs of Passive meaning: e.g.

τελευτήσαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐναντίων 448.54.(318/7)

καθεστῆκός ὑπὸ τ[ο]ῦ βασιλέως 1225.7-8.U.(c.250.h.).

(iii) Cause:

ὑπ' ἀνάγκης *

G.1759.3.P.(300-250.*).

(* For υ replaces γ before κ, see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).)

C. Dative:

1. a) Time: e.g.

ἔκτει καὶ δεκάτῃ τῆς πρυτανείας 366.4-5.(323/2)

Πανεθηναίων τῷ γυμνασίῳ ἀγωνι 456.b.4.(307/6)

ἀποδώσει ἐξεργασάμενος | ἐπὶ Διοτίμου [ἄρχοντος Εὐ]ρυκλειῶνι
καὶ Θαρρηκλειῶνι καὶ Σπυροφοριῶ(νι)

1682.30-31.(285/4)

τοῖς Ἀλφειοῖς

1299.9.U.(pp.236/5)

τῇ οὐσίᾳ τοῦ Εὐρυκλειῶνος

1329.26-27.U.(175/4).

cf. ἀγορεύει κυρίαι *

1283.3.U.(263/2).

b) Place: e.g.

- τὴν Ἰψῶν γενομένην 657.17-18.(283/2)
 οἱ ταχοῦντες .. | .. ἔλευσέντι 3460.18-21.(251/0)
 τοῖς οἰκοῦσιν τῶν πολιτῶν | Ῥαμνοῦντι S.XV.112.1-2.U.(225/4)
 τεῖθε χθονὶ σῶμα κέκρυμαι * G.1601.6.F.(in.s.iii.*).
 (*For κέκρυμαι, see PH.II.F.2.a.(v).)

c) Interest or Advantage: e.g.

- ἡ κομπὴ πορεύεται | τῶι Διὶ τῶι Σωτῇ [οὐ κα] ἰ τῶι
 Διονύσῳ 380.20-21.(320/19)
 φιλό[λ]αι ὀπισθεν τῆς θύ[ρας] | δεξιᾶς εἰσιόντι
 1487.A.40-42.(f.s.iv.*)
 ὅλο τῶν ἀνασθημάτων ἥρω[ι] | ἱατρῶι 839.36-37.(221/0)
 οἶνο|χοῆς τῶι ἥρωι ἱατρῶι 1b.47-48.
 γραμματεῦν τῶι ταμίᾳ 1272.9.U.(267/6)
 cf. ἥι ἐγραμμάτευεν Χ. (formula) e.g. 373.17.(322/1)
 τῆς κομπῆς τῶι Ἡρακλεῖ 1247.24-25.U.(m.s.iii.*)
 τοῦς ἱεροποιούς τῶι Διὶ 1291.22.U.(m.s.iii.*)
 θεοδοιῶντος Νεμέσῳ ἱερεῖας 3109.3.U.(in.s.iii.*).

d) Manner: e.g.

- ἀγαθ[εῖ] τύχει ἐψηφίσ[θαι] | τῶι δήμῳ 373.26-27.(322/1)
 καὶ ἰδεῖαι | καὶ ποινεῖ 1b.25-26.
 καὶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ [ι] 495.13.(303/2).

e) Instrument: e.g.

τι] | μῆσαντος .. | .. τοῖς ἑλλαις τιμοῖς 448.56-58.(318/7)

ἐξυπῶτων πηλῶι ἡ[χυ]ρωμένοι 463.42.(307/6)

ᾠδᾶσι αὐτὸν δ' ἱερῶ[ς] | ... πεντήκοντα δραχμαῖς

1362.14-15.U.(f.s.iv.✱)

(✱ For α written for ω , see OR.I.B.

For ᾠδᾶσι, see VO.I.I.

Note that there are no exx. with the Accusative of the fine.)

ἔκποι πολεμιστῆι δίδωλον (sc. ἐνίκᾳ) 957.71.(157/6)

(For a similar type of expression, cf. A.1.g. above.)

cf.also ἔκποι λαμπρῶι 958.79.(154/3)

Δήλια

ἑρμῶτα

ἔρμασι

ἔρμασι

2971.13-14.U.(c.315/4.✱)

νικῆσας ἀνδράσιν (= "with choruses of men")

3056.2.U.(320/19)

But: νικῆσας χορηγῶν κερροπίδι καίδων (sc. χοροῖς)

3055.1.U.(320/19).

And cf. τῶν ἐπιλέκτων εὐανδρῶι (sc. ἐνίκᾳ)

957.26.(157/6)

which gives the sphere in which, rather than the instrument with which, the victory was won.

f) Agent: (i) with Perfect Passive: e.g.

τῶ | ν εἰσενηνεγμένων αὐτῶι εἰς τὸ ν | εῶριον

1631.372-374.(323/2)

τοῦ | οὐδὲ παρελάβομεν δεδομέναις 1632.16-17. (323/2)

τῷ ἐψηφισ | [μέ]να [τ]ῷ [ε] δήμῳ 956.10-11. (161/0).

(ii) with Present Passive:

ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισσόμενων τῷ δήμῳ

(formula) e.g. 393.13-15. (b.321/0 - 319/8).

However, this could equally well be interpreted as "the (monies) spent in the interests of the People".

g) Possessor: e.g.

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνους γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκλητον

(formula) e.g. 373.29-30. (322/1).

h) with Verbs of Commanding: e.g.

προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ δήμος 373.25. (322/1).

i) with Verbs compounded with the following prepositions:

(i) ἐν-: ἐνίσ[τ] | αἰσῶσι τῷ τῆς πόλεως συμφέροντι
666.12-13. (266/5).

(ii) περι-: περιστάντων τεῖ πόλει καὶ ῥῶν δυσκόλων
682.33. (c.256/5).

(iii) πρὸς-: π[ρ]οσέχων τῇ προτέρῃ [ε]
463.84. (307/6).

(iv) ὑπο-: τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτε | [ε] δόξης
457.b.4-5. (307/6).

(v) συν-: συνῆκροστε τῷ δήμῳ
448.50. (318/7)

συμβουλευσας τῷ δήμῳ 682.36.(c.256/5)

συμ|φέρειν καὶ τοῖς ... ἀφικνουμένοις

1225.4-5.U.(c.250.h.)

συμφέρηκεν Αἰονυσίῳ μεταλλά|ξει τὸν βίον

1326.3-4.U.(176/5).

N.B. On the analogy of προσήνω we find καθήνω + Dative e.g.

ὄν καθήνω αὐτοῖς 896.38.(186/5).

j) with Adjectives and Adverbs: e.g.

χρήσιμ[ο]ς ὃν καὶ ποινεῖ καὶ ἐ|[δ]ίαι τοῖς ἀφικ[νουμένοις]

398.a.3-4.(c.320/19.h.)

εὐνοῦς ὃν διατελεῖ τῷ δήμῳ 493.14.(303/2)

συναίτιος γενέσ[θ]ι|[α]ι τεῖ σωτηρίαι 666.13-14.(266/5)

εὐχρηστον|ἐαυτὸν παρασκευάζει ..|.. τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν *

850.4-6.(197/6)

cf. πᾶσιν εὐχρηστῶν

1304.37.U.(pp.211/10)

τάμειλονθα πρόπτοντες τῇ θε|[ο]μνήστου προσιρέσει

1302.9-10.U.(220/19)

ποθεινὸς γέγονα|τοῖς ὃν τεῖ πόλει 10,490.3-4.V.P.(p.179.s.).

συ]μφορόντως τῷ δήμῳ

672.29.(279/8.h.)

ἀπολούθως τοῖς νόμοις

S.XIV.64.18.(271/0); 1303.7.

U.(220/19).

(* For ν replaces γ before χ, see PH.II,F.2.b.(iv).)

k) ὁ αὐτός : e.g.

τὴν αὐτὴν ἐργασίαν τῷ κίονι 1682.20.(285/4)

τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν ἔχων τοῖς προγό[φο]νοις
682.19-20.(c.256/5)

*
πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ Πειραιέως
1283.16.υ.(283/2).

(* For σ > σσ before ο, see PH.II.B.6.a.(11).)

2. Prepositions governing Dative.

a) ἐν : (1) Place: e.g.

τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀγοράνο[μ]ῳ 380.10-11.(320/19)

πρ[ο]σεδρίαν ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς ἐγ[γ]οις 450.b.4-6.(314/3)

τιθεῖς ὅλας ἐν πηλῷ 463.70.(307/6)

ἐν Πανόκτω[ι] 1299.29.υ.(pp.236/5).

ἀναγρῶσαι ... ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ (formula) e.g. 393.8-10.

(b.321/0-319/8); cf. A.2.c.(1) and d.(1) above.

cf. ἐν ξυστῷ γραμμ' ἐτύκωσε πέτρῳ G.632.6.P.(in.s.111.*).

cf. the following exx. with στήσαι

στήσαι ... ἐν ἀγορῇ 393.10-11.(b.321/0-319/8)

ἐν ἀγορῇ 450.b.10.(314/3)

ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ 648.4.(c.250/49)

ἐν ἱερῷ 687.63.(265/4)

ἐν Ἐλευσίνῃ 1299.28.υ.(pp.236/5)

ἐν τῇ ἀγορῇ S.XV.113.28.υ.(215/4).

N.B. There are no exx. of στήσαι + εἰς.

(ii) Time: e.g.

ἐν [π] ἀντὶ τῷ καιρῷ	505.9-10.(302/1)
ἐν εἰρήνῃ	672.9.(279/8.h.)
ἐν τῇ πρυτανείᾳ	790.19.(235/4)
ἐν τῷ ἑκαστοβριῶνι	2498.14.υ.(321/0).

cf. ἐν πολλοῖς ("on many occasions/?in many respects")

1326.4.υ.(176/5)

ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅπασιν ("in all other circumstances")

S.XIV.64.17.(271/0).

(iii) other usages: e.g.

ἐν πέντε [*] ὅν τῷ βα[σιλεῖ]	646.11-12.(295/4.π)
ἐν τριῖν [ἔ] ὅν παρ' αὐτῷ καὶ προαγωγῇ μεγ[άλῃ]	947.16.(166/5.gr.)

(^{*} cf. PH.I.A.2.b.(vi).)

The following exx. refer to victory at the games in contests in which various items of armour were worn:-

ἐν ὅπλοις δέσπο[ν]	956.78.(161/0)
ἐν ἀσπίδι καὶ δόρυτ[ε]	957.47.(157/6)
ἐν θυρεῶνι	1b.56.
ἐν θυρεῶνι καὶ μαχαίρῃ	958.69.(154/3).

b) ἐπὶ : (i) Place: e.g.

ἐδρίαι ἐρ]γυρῆι τρεῖς [ἄ]ς ἐποιήσαντο ταρ]ταί οἱ ἐπὶ

'Α|[ρχίππου ἔρχοντος] ἐν τῶν φιλαδ|[ν τῶν ἐξελευθερ]ικῶν,
 ὁς Διομέ|[δων?.....] ἐποί[η]σεν· ὁφ' εἶ|[τὸ Δ, σταθμὸν
 Χ]ΗΗΗΗ[Ρ]Δ[Δ]Δ[Ρ]ΤΤΤΤ|[αὕτη δὲ πόλλα]ν ἔχει ΤΤ· ὁφ' εἶ τὸ
 Β, κατλ.

1469.3ff.(321/0)

ἐπὶ δουνίωι

1588.9.(in.s.iii.≡)

[στρ]οτευομένους ἐπὶ δουνίωι

1270.6.U.(298/7.≡)

καπταίνοντ' ἐπὶ γούνασι παῖδα

G.632.3.P.(in.s.iii.≡).

(ii) Purpose: e.g.

πεπραμ|[ένης] ἐπὶ λύσει:

H.X.54.18 A.2-3.(309/8)

ἐπὶ ὀγχεῖαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τ[οῦ] δήμου 456.b.3.(307/6)

προαναλίσκων τοῖς δημόταις παρ' ἑαυτοῦ ἐπὶ τεῖ

ἐπαρχεῖ ἣν ἐπ[ι]ρχονται οἱ δημόται

1215.12-14.U.(p.221.s.).

(iii) Cause: e.g.

ἐπὶ πᾶσιν τοῦτοις ἐστεφάνωται 682.63-64.(c.256/5)

ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῦτοις ἐπέλκετο καὶ ἐστεφάνωκεν αὐτὸν

1299.62.U.(pp.236/5).

(iv) "in charge of" e.g.

ὁ ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικήσει

463.36.(307/6)

of. the formulaic

τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει e.g. 500.41.(302/1)

τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει e.g. 657.71-72.(283/2).

c) *παρὰ* : "with, beside" e.g.

διατρέβων παρὰ τῷ βασιλ[ῇ] 495.11-12.(303/2)

cf. τοῖς παρὰ τεῖ κλέει στρατεύου[σιν] 1299.21.U.(pp.236/5)

ὑπάρχει παρὰ τῷ θεῷ ἐπιδόμημα 1224.b.4.U.(p.245.s.).

d) *περὶ* : "around, about" (of Place) e.g.

]ν περὶ γόμφου. 1685.B₃.4.(in.s.iii.*)

καὶ γομφώ[σιν] περὶ γόμφου αἰδοῖ[σιν] τοὺς λίθους]

ib. B₃.13.

e) *πρὸς* : (i) Place: e.g.

πρὸς τῷ δευτέρῳ σ[φραγίσματι] 1534.A.105.(292/1.*)

πρὸς τῷ τοίχῳ ib.110 and 114.

πρὸς πινυαίῳ ib.50; etc.

στῆσαι πρὸς τεῖ στοῦ 690.11.(c.260/59.*)

ἀναγράφει δὲ πόδε τοῦ ψήφισμα | πρὸς τῷ ἀναστήματι

1263.45-46.U.(300/299)

πρὸ [ς] | τεῖ πύλαι S.XV.112.27-28.U.(225/4).

(ii) "in addition to" e.g.

εἰς [χεσθαῖ] | τὸν ἱερὸν καὶ τὴν ἱερείαν πρὸς ταῖς εὐχαῖς

εἰς εἰς [χονταῖ] | 1283.20-21.U.(263/2).

f) *σὺν* : "including", only 4 exx. viz.

καὶ σὺν ἡ ἐφημερὶς Ἀριστόνικ[ος] α[ρ]α[ρ]α | καὶ σὺν ταῖς

ἐκδο[σιν] *

1631.169-170.(323/2)

οὐν τοῦτω	1487.A.18.(f.s.iv.*)
οὐν τῷ ἐμπόρῳ τῷ χαλκῷ	1534.A.94.(292/1.*).
(* For ὁλόζυ[ζυ], see VO.II.B.)	

g) ὅπῳ : "under" e.g.

ὁποιεῖσθαι ὅπῳ τῇ σφοδρῇ	1682.18.(285/4)
ῥοονιχίως ὅπῳ τείχεσι	G.40.5.(287/6)
διος [ο]ῖς εἶσαθ' ὅπῳ τρέποσιν	3089.4.V.7P.(200-150.*)
ὅπῳ χθονὶ οἴμῃ	G.1550.5.P.(167/6).

III. The Article.

N.B. All the exx. quoted below are from Prose inscrr., since metrical considerations are largely, if not completely, responsible for the incidence of the Article in Verse inscrr. However, on the negative side, one can say that in Verse inscrr. there are no exx. of names of deities with the Article (see C. below.).

A. Personal Names:

1. Personal names do not, as a rule, have the Article: e.g.

πρὸς Ἀντίγον [ον κα]ὶ Δημήτριον	657.18.(283/2)
Σωσίθε ον τραγωιδόν, Σώφειλον ὁδοδόν	1320.6-7.U.(p.245.s.)
Κωτέλλα.	11,934.P.(s.iii/11.*).

2. If the father's name is expressed, there is no Article in front of it, except when the son's or daughter's name is in the Genitive case:

e.g. Αἰόφαντος Φρασινλαίδου Κυ[ρ] [ου] νόστιος 373.21-22.(322/1)

But : ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Νικάνωρος τοῦ Εὐρυκλείδου Κηφισιῶς |
στρατηγούντος ἐπὶ τὴν παρασκευὴν Θευροῦλου τοῦ Θεοφάνου
Παιραιῶς.

2798.3-4.(197/6)

πανηγ[ο]ύσης Σωτείρας τῆς Ἀθηναγόρου

4456.2.V.(p.179.s.)

ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Εὐθυδήμο[υ] τοῦ Ἀντικλέους ἐξ [Οἴου].

4438.3-4.P.(272/1).

I have found only 1 ex. of omission of the Article in this
latter case i.e. when the son's name is in the Genitive viz.

ἐπὶ ἱερῶς Πραξιτέλου | [Τ]ιμάρχου Εἰρεσιδου.

4440.2-3.P.(m.s.iii.*).

cf. also ἐπὶ Κηφισοδώρου τ[οῦ] ἀδελφοῦ τοῦ Σωκράτους

1631.357-358.(323/2).

There are only 2 exceptions to the rule that there is no Article
before the father's name if the son's name is in any other case but
the Genitive viz.

Εὐφρα] | υἱὸς Ἀ[δ]ῆα τοῦ Σικωνίου

448.40-41.(318/7)

πρὸς Ἀλέξανδ[ο]ν τὸν Κρα[το]ρῶ

774.15.(c.250/49.h.).

In the first of these 2 exx. there is the added abnormality
that the ethnic qualifies the father and not the son (see VIII.F.

below). It should also be noted that in the same inser. we find
 Εὐφρων Ἀδῆα Σικυωνίος ib.7.

and Εὐφ[ρ]ωνα Ἀδῆα Σικυωνίου ib.12-13.

In the second ex. there may be a rhythmical significance in the sequence: preposition-noun-article-noun. (cf. B.2.b. below.)

B. Peoples:

1. With names of foreigners there is no Article before the ethnic: e.g.

Εὐφρων Ἀδῆα Σικυωνίος 448.7.(318/7)

Νέκω|ν Ἀρυδηνός 493.12-13.(303/2)

Πρωίας | Πολεμαίου | Ἀγικωρενῆ. 7930.P.(p.197.s.).

2. in the plural

a) Ἀθηναῖοι never has the Article in any case: e.g.

ἀγαθός ..|... περὶ Ἀθηναίους 450.a.13-14.(314/3)

τοῖς δὲ περιτυγχάνουσιν * Ἀθηναίων 657.29.(283/2).

(* For ν replaces γι before χ, see PH.II.P.2.b.(iv).)

b) other peoples are without the Article in the Nominative: e.g.

ἐπεὶ] δὲ Θετταλοὶ 545.8.(p.318/7.h.)

Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι 687.8-9.(265/4)

Λακεδαιμόνιοι φίλοι καὶ σύμ|μαχοι ὄντες 1b.21-22.

and frequently without it in the oblique cases: e.g.

τὰ σύνεργα κύρια ἢ|ι τὰ πρὸς Τηνέους 466.b.32-33.(307/6.h.)

ὁ Κοινὸν β[ασ]ιλεὺς 654.12.(285/4)
 συμμαχίαν μετὰ τε Ἑλλήνων | καὶ Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Τρῳαίων
 καὶ Παντινέων καὶ Ὀρχομενέων καὶ τῶν Φιλα[λέων] καὶ
 Καρυέων καὶ Κρηταέων 687.23ff.(265/4);
 cf. ib.36ff.(in Dative).

But there are the following exx. with the Article:-

ὁ | πῶρ τῶν Ἑλλήνων 448.44-45.(318/7)
 το[ύς πρέσβεις] | οὓς τῶν Τηνέων 466.b.26-27.(307/6.h.)
 τῇν πόλιν | [ν τ]ῶν Κ[α]λοφονείων 470.25-26.(306/5)
]ἐπὶ ἄλλων τοῦς Ἑλλήνων 8.XIV.58.11.(302.π)
 ὁμοιοῦς γενομ[ένης τοῦς Ἑλλήνων 687.31-32.(265/4)
 τὸ κοινὸν τὸ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 680.5-6.(249/8)
 ἐπὶ τε τοῦς Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱε[ρόν τὸ
 κοινὸν τῶν Ἑλλήνων ib.10-11.
 τῇ | πόλει τῶν Ἀργείων 774.14-15.(c.250/49.h.)
 τοῦ κοινοῦ] τῶν Βοιωτῶν 861.9.(p.245.s.)
] τῶν Λαμιέων ib.11.
 τ]ὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰτωλῶν 1304.4.0.(pp.211/10).

N.B.1. Ἑλλήνες always has the Article.

2. In all the other exx. above - i.e. if the restorations are correct - we have the pattern: Article-Noun-Article-Noun. There may thus be some rhythmical significance here. But cf. Τρῳαί(ω)ν ὁ ὄμιλος 1485.12.(307/6). It is the only ex. which contravenes this pattern, but can be explained away as being in a *Traditio*, in a list where items are put down as headings. Note too that in the above exx. the name of the people comes second: here it is first.

C. Gods and Goddesses:

1. In the text of Decrees the Article is almost always present with both the god's name and his attribute (if any): e.g.

τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τῷ Διονύσῳ,

380.21.(320/19)

τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος

783.6.(163/2.gr.)

τοῦ Ἀσκληπείου

1163.4.U.(284/3)

τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναῖσι τε | [Σω]τεῖραι

S.XV.112.9-10.U.(225/4).

The only exx. of omission are:-

a) τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Πανθήμου 659.11.(283/2)

where the Article is lacking with the attribute, although we read

τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τε Πανθήμῳ ib.22-23.

When one considers that this is the only instance - out of many - of the Article lacking in this position, it may be correct to assume that this is a slip on the part of the stone-cutter.

b) προσκετακυῖασε νοῦν καὶ τέρενος Ἀσκληπι|οῦ

1302.7-8.U.(220/19).

c) ἐν το[ῖς κρ]ῶσι "Αγραν μυστηρ[ῶσι] 661.9-10.(267/6)

τῶν κρῶσι "Αγραν μυστηρίων 847.22.(215/4)

ἐγ' ἡσο|τηρίων τῶν μεγάλ[ων] καὶ τῶν κρῶσι "Αγραν

1231.10-12.U.(f.s.iv.*).

Since there are no exx. of "Αγρᾱ with the Article, this strongly suggests that τὸ κρῶσι "Αγραν μυστηρίων was a formula.

(* For ἐκ > ἐγ before μ, see PH.II.D.1.e.)

d) τῆς ἐν Αἰονόσου. H.VII.100.18.19.(282/1)

ἐκκλησία ἐν Αἰονόσου. 896.5 and 31.(186/5).

Again this is a formula.

2. In Dedications the Article is almost always omitted: e.g.

Ἀποδοῖται ἡγεμόναι τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἱερείων

2798.2.(197/6)

Αἰονόσωι Αἰνεῖται ἑνέσθημεν 2854.2.ii.(254/3)

Αἰετὶς ἐκκλησίαις | Βασιλείων. 4677.P.(s.iii.*).

(* For ζ > ε , see PH.II.A.7.a.(11).)

But: τῶι ὁποῖ ἑνέσθημεν. 2865.3-4.ii.(p.179.s.)

ἐδξάμενος ἑνέσθημεν | τῶι Αἰονόσωι. 4605.3-4.P.(f.s.iv.*)

Αἰονόσιος καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶι ἑνὶ τῷ ἑρῶν ἑνέσθησαν.

4685.P.(s.iii.*).

Contrast: : Δημήτριος καὶ ἡ γυνὴ ἑρῶτον ἑνὶ.

4687.a.P.(f.s.iii.*).

3. In Traditions there are 3 exx., all without the Article viz.

ἑρῶν ἑρῶτον 1474.9.(318/7)

ἑρῶς ἑρῶτον ib.15.

ἑρῶι ἑρῶτον 1475.16.(c.318/7.*).

4. In the expression "I swear by ...":-

ὁμνῶ [τὸν Δ]ιὰ τὸν [Βασιλέ] | [α καὶ τὴν ἑρῶ]ν καὶ τὸν
δοσεῖο καὶ 951.10-11.(167/6)

But: ὁρ]νῶ Διὸς Γ[ῆ]ν "Ἡλίου "Ἄρη "Ἀθηνᾶν "Ἄρε | [ῖον

687.54-55.(265/4).

The difference between these two exx. may be that in the former Zeus is given a title; normally when a god has a title, both god and title have the Article: so the following deities have the Article as well. In the latter we have a simple list of the deities invoked in the oath.

5. Verse insert.: e.g.

νοχίους θεροεφόντης θαλάμους.

G.1931.9.P.(in.s.iii.)*

ἐν[γ]νῶν "Ἡριεῖ

3089.1.V.1P.(200-150.)*.

D. Officials:

1. In Decrees the Article is always inserted: e.g.

ὁπέρ ὅν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάν[εις] | τῆς Κεκροπίδος

U.S.I.74.29.9-10.(228/7)

ἐπε[ὶ] δὲ Σμικυθίων ὁ περιπόλαρχος 1193.1-2.U.(f.s.iv.)*

ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἱεροφάντης Χατρήτιος 1235.2.U.(c.248/7).

cf. also the following formulae which contain some of the provisions of a decree:-

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ

δήμου

e.g. 508.11-13.(f.s.iv.)*

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι τὸν ἐξεταστήν καὶ

τοὺς τριτυάρχους

e.g. 641.29-32.(299/8)

τὸ δὲ γυνόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατ-

ωσιῶν

e.g. 896.20-21.(186/5).

ἀναγράφει δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τῆς βουλῆς
e.g. 365.b.12-13.(323/2)

ἀναγράφει δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ἀναγραφέα
e.g. 393.8-9.(b.321/0-319/8)

ἀναγράφει δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ
κρυπτανεῖαν
e.g. 483.27-29.(304/3)

ἀναγράφει δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τοῦ δήμου
e.g. 507.21-23.(303/2)

δοῦναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ κρυπτανεῖα
e.g. 1b.12-13.

τοῦς δὲ κρυπτανεῖα τῆς ... δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον
e.g. 508.6-8.(f.s.iv.*)

τοῦς προέδροις οἱ δὲ ἂν λάχουσιν προεῖρεῖν εἰς τὴν πρώτην
ἀκκλησίαν προσαγαγεῖν ... πρὸς τὸν δήμον
e.g. 466.24-27.(307/6.h.).

N.B. In the Prescript there are 2 apparent exceptions viz.

a) There is no Article with ἀναγραφεὺς : e.g.

ὅτι ἀναγραφ[εὺς] 390.1.(319/8)

ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀρχεῖδ[ε]κος Νευκρίτου Λαμπε[ρεῦ]ς.

380.1.(320/19).

Here ἀναγραφεὺς is predicative, and the ὅτι-phrase is based on the analogy of ὅτι + ἄρχοντας.

b) There is no Article with συμπαρόντες when it is added to the

formula τῶν προδῶραν ἐπεψήφισεν — e.g.

τῶν προδῶρων ἐπεψήφισεν ἐϋ|στρατος ἐνθίζωνος παραθῶντιο / [ς]
καὶ συμπεδῶροι. 471.9-11.(306/5).

of the earlier formula καὶ συνάρχοντες e.g.

τάδε ἡ οἱ ταμίαι [ι] τῶν ἡιερόν χρημάτων [ο]ν τῷ [ς] Ἄ]θηναίῳ [ς . .]
[ι . .] καὶ συνάρχοντες. I².257.8-9.(433/2).

2. In Traditiones the Article is generally omitted: e.g.

ἦ]ν ἐποιήσαντο ταμίαι [1479.26.(312/11)

στρατηγοὶ οἱ μεθ' Ἀγησίου 1487.B.92.(306/5)

ταμί[αι τῶν στρ]ατιωτικῶν 1492.B.123.(305/4)

But:

τά]δε τοῖς <σ>τρατηγοῖς * [παρε]||[δόκαμεν
1479.65-66.(312/11)

ὁ ταμίης τῶν στ[ρα]τιωτικῶν [ς] ὧν ὁ [ἐλτι]κος
1492.B.130.(305/4).

(* For τοῖς στρατηγοῖς, see PH.II.B.6.b.(ii).)

E. βασιλεύς :

With very few exceptions the Article is always inserted: e.g.

παρὰ τῷ βασιλ[ι] Ἰ Δημητρίῳ 495.11-12.(303/2)

τοῦ [β]ασιλέως πόλεμον[ς] 953.7.(160/59).

τῷ βα|σιλεῖ Ἀντιγόνῳ 1225.2-3.B.(c.250.h.)

τοῦ βασιλέως [Αη]||[μητρίου κ]αὶ τῆς βασιλείας [πολε]ς
1299.10-11.U.(pp.236/5).

But: καὶ νῦν [ν μ]ετ' [*Ἀρριδαί?]/ οὐ θν τοῦ παρ[εσ]τῶτο [ε
 σωτρά]/ που ὑπὸ βασιλ[έω]ς 401.6-8. (b.321-319).

This ex. shows that βασιλεὺς without the Article could be used
 to refer to the King of Macedon.

Βασιλεὺς Σιδωνίων / ἑλλησπληγῆς *Ἀπολλοδώρου.

3425.P. (in.s.iii.*).

But this is in the form of a heading to a dedication.

καὶ ἑλλησπληγῆς βασιλῆος *Ἀριαράθου[1330.22.U. (p.163.*)

καὶ βασιλῆος *Ἀριαράθου καὶ βασιλ[έως] Νύσης

1b.31.

ἑπειδὴ βασίλισσα Νύσα βασιλῆος [

1b.69.

Contrast: ὑπὲρ τοῦ βασιλ[έω]ς

1b.34.

τοῦ βασιλῆος Ἀριαράθου

1b.36.

F. Countries and Islands:

1. "Greece", "Asia" and "Attica" have the Article: e.g.

συνέβη τῇ *Ἑλλάδι

448.52. (318/7)

πᾶσαν τὴν *Ἀσίαν

457.b.11. (307/6)

τ] ἣν *Ἀττικὴν

467.22-23. (306/5).

These 3 were originally Adjectives.

2. All others are without the Article: e.g.

*
 ἐγὼ Λήμνου

1492.133. (305/4)

ἐν Κύπρῳ

682.8. (c.256/5)

εἰς Κρήτην

844.58. (193/2).

(* For $\epsilon\kappa > \epsilon\gamma$ before λ , see PH.II.D.1.d.)

G. Seas:

Only 3 exx., 2 without the Article viz.

εἰς Εὐβοίαν [ν] H.IX.336.42.9.(323/2)

τὴν ἐν Ἑλλάδι [σπόντων] 398.a.7.(c.320/19.h.)

1 with the Article viz.

[τ]οῦ Εὐρίπου 469.3.(306/5.h.).

H. Cities:

The names of cities do not have the Article: e.g.

εἰς Ἀρυδὸν 493.16.(303/2)

εἰς Κνωσὸν 844.15.(193/2)

εἰς Δελφοῦς 1b.54.

* $\epsilon\gamma$ Ἀλωδόνης 1283.6.U.(263/2)

ἐν Ἀθηναῖς 1223.4.U.(p.179.s.)

ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ 3779.20.F.(m.s.iii.*).

(* For $\epsilon\kappa > \epsilon\gamma$ before δ , see PH.II.D.1.c.)

I. Towns in Attica:

1. The Article is almost always used with Πειραιεύς : e.g.

τοῦ Πειραιέω [ς] 463.2.(307/6)

τὸν Πειραιᾶ 844.53-54.(193/2).

But: εἰς Πει[ραιᾶ] πορεύεσθαι ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ
Πειραιέως τ[οὺς δὲ ἐ]ν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐπιμελητὰς καλ.
1283.15-17.U.(263/2).

* For $\sigma > \sigma\sigma$ before θ , see PH.II.B.6.a.(ii).)

2. Other places in Attica do not have the Article: e.g.

ἐπὶ Σούνιον	1260.8.U.(313/2)
ἐκ Σουνίω	1270.6.U.(298/7)
ἐν Πανάκτῳ	1285.22.U.(c.251/0)
Ἐλευσῖνος καὶ Πανάκτου καὶ Φυλῆς	1299.66.U.(pp.236/5)
εἰς ῥαμνοῦντα	S.XV.112.16.U.(225/4).

3. There is 1 ex. of the Article with Μουνιχία viz.

π]ρὸς τὴν Μουν [ιχίαν	480.9.(c.305/4).
But cf. ἐν Μουνιχίᾳ	1631.254.(323/2).

J. Places in Athens:

1. In the narrative of Decrees the Article is inserted: e.g.

State:

ορουρὴν ἐξέβαλε ἐκ τῆς ἀπο[πόλεως	448.46.(318/7)
εἰς τὴν τοῦ κ[ουο]εῖου φυλακὴν	665.12.(266/5)
συνεκολιόρκει ὁδὸν καὶ τὸ Μουσ[εῖ]ον	666.14.(266/5)

cf. in Traditiones:

ἐ]ν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω	1534.B.145.(247/6)
τὰ ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω [ἐν]έγραψαν	1b.166.
καταβολάσασιν εἰς τὸ μητροῖον	1b.156.
τὴν ἐπισκευὴν τῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀσκληπιεῖω	1539.2-3.(215/4).

Sub-Unit:

- ἐκ τοῦ πρυτανείου 1283.15.U.(263/2)
- ἐν τῷ | [·H]ραλῶι 1247.14-15.U.(m.s.iii.π)
- cf. in Leases:
- κατὰ τὰδε μισθοῦσιν |... τὸ Θησεῖον 2498.2-3.U.(321/0)
- οἱ μισ[θω] | σόμενοι τὸ θεομοφόριον ib.11-12.

2. In the formulaic provisions of Decrees the Article is not used: e.g.

- ἀναγράψαι καὶ ἀναθεῖναι τ[ὸν γρα]|μματοέ<α> τῆς βουλῆς
- τῇ μὲν ἐν ἀποπόλει 448.68-69.(318/7)
- στῆσαι δ'... |... ἐν ἀγορ[ῃ] | [·] 646.37-38.(295/4.π)
- στῆσαι [·...] | ... τὴν ὕ' ἐν ἀποπόλει 648.11-12.(c.295/4)
- εἶναι αὐτῷ στήσιν ἐν πρυτανείῳ 657.64.(283/2); 1223.12.
U.(p.179.s.)

- But: στῆσαι ἐν τεῖ ἀγορᾷ S.XV.113.28.U.(215/4)
- στῆσαι ἐν τῷ Μητροῖι 1327.27.U.(178/7).

K. Tribes:

1. When φυλὴ is not added to the name of the Tribe

a) the Article is always inserted in the expression of πρυτ-

- άνεις τῆς — : e.g.
- οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχίδος 674.5.(273/2)
- οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Πανδιονίδος 790.9.(235/4); ib.18 and 23.
- οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος S.XVI.95.8.(164/3).

b) the Article is always omitted in the Choregic Monuments: e.g.

Ἐρεχθίδες ἀνδρῶν ἐνέκα. 3078.3.(in.s.iii.)

Λεωντίες [ἀ]νδρῶν ἐνέκα. 3079.3.(282/1)

νικησας χορηγῶν Κεκροπίδι παίδων. 3055.1.U.(320/19).

2. When φυλή is added

a) in Decrees we find the Article: e.g.

περὶ τὴν Ἐρεχθίδα φυλὴν. 1165.29-30.U.(300-250.)*.

b) in the Choregic Monuments there is no Article: e.g.

Οἰνηίδες φυλῇ παίδω [ν ἐ]νέκα. 3054.2.U.(323/2)

χορηγῶν νικησας ἀνδράσιν Ἰεποθωντίδι φυλῇ
3056.2.U.(320/19)

cf. in Victor Lists (and see c. below)

φυλῇ ἐνέ[κ]α Ἀτ[τ]αλίδες 956.49.(161/0); cf. 957.

(157/6) and 958.(154/3) *passim*.

c) in the Victor Lists there is no Article: e.g.

*ἀλέξων Ἀπολλοφάνου Πανδιονίδος φυλ[ῆς].

956.47.(161/0); cf. 2316.

(c.166/5.)*; 957.(157/6) and 958.(154/3) *passim*.

L. Demes:

1. With names of Athenians the demotic has no Article: e.g.

Ἐδουγένης Ἰφαιστοδήμου Κηφι[σ] [ε]νέ[κ]α
373.17-18.(322/1)

Καλλιμάχης Γλαύκωνος Αἰετῶνε[σ] 1202.5-6.U.(313/2)

Πλορον | Διείλου | Αίλωνος | Ουγέτη |

5429.P.(s.11.*).

2. Names of Demes never have the Article: e.g..

ἐκ Πολωνοῦ 1470.12.(c.320.*)

ἐκ Κηδῶν 463.35.(307/6)

ἐκ Κοίτης 838.8.(226/5).

3. Likewise, names of Demesmen are without the Article: e.g.

κατὰ τὰς μεσοῦσιν Πειραιεῖς 2498.2.U.(321/0)

τὸν δήμον τὸν 'Ελ|ευσινίων 1193.3-4.U.(f.s.iv.*)

ἔδοξεν 'Ραμνοσώτοις S.XV.112.1.U.(225/4).

M. Brotherhoods:

These always have the Article: e.g.

ἔδοξεν τοῖς θιασώταις 1261.2.U.(302/1)

no doubt on the analogy of ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ/τῷ δήμῳ.

οἱ θιασῶται 1262.16.U.(301/300)

εἰς τοὺς θιασώτας 1263.43.U.(300/299)

]ι τοῖς ἐρανισταῖς 1265.10.U.(c.300.*)

οἱ ἐρανιστ[αῖ 1291.5.U.(m.s.iii.*)

δεδοχόμει τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν 1284.11.U.(257/6)

no doubt on the analogy of δεδοχόμει τῇ βουλῇ/τῷ δήμῳ.

ὅτι τῶν ὀργεῶνων ib.23.

N. Months:

1. In the preamble to Decrees the name of the month is generally given without the addition of μην and without the Article: e.g.

Θαργηλιῶνος δευτέρου ἑσπ[ε]ρου 373.18-19.(322/1)
 Θαργηλιῶνος 1297.2.U.(237/6).

2. In the text of Decrees, when μην is added, the Article is also inserted: e.g.

ἐν τῷ [ι] | καταγεγραμμένῳ μηνὶ 507.16-17.(c.302/1)
 τοῦ Μουνιχιῶνος μην | [ος] 663.25-26.(c.286/5.)*
 τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος μηνός 1168.7.U.(s.111.)*.

3. Exceptions:

a) 2 exx. of a preamble with μην and without the Article viz:

μη [νός &η] | προ[φ]οριῶνος 1262.1-2.U.(301/300)
 μηνός ἑσπ[ε]ρου | οφλιῶνος πέμπτης ἑσπεμένης 1263.1-2.U.(300/299).

b) 2 exx. of the Article without μην viz.

ὁ ἀπὸ Ἡγεμόνου Μουνιχιῶν 1241.30.U.(300/299)

Here the Article is unavoidable.

* εἴ οὐκ οὐκ τοῦ Μουνιχι | ῶνος 1329.26-27.U.(175/4)

Note the pattern: Article-Noun-Article-Noun.

(* For ητ > η , see PH.I.A.2.i.(ii).)

4. In locationes the Article appears to be inserted, usually without μην : e.g.

- ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκτῆς ἐπὶ δέκ|α τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος
2498.20-21.U.(321/0)
- τοῦ Εὐρηδρομιῶνος τῆς νομηνίαι 2499.22.U.(306/5)
- τοῦ Ἑλα|φθηρολιῶνος τῆς νομ<η>νίαι 1b.23-24.
- τοῦ Εὐ|ηδρομιῶνος 1b.25-26.
- αἱ τεὶ νομηνίαι τοῦ [εὐρδ]ρ[ομι]ῶνος μηνός,
2501.6.U.(f.s.iv.*).

But:

- μηνός Εὐρηδρομιῶνος ἐν ηἱ, 1241.25.U.(300/299)
- μηνός Ἑλαφθηρολιῶνος [εἰ]|[ν]η 1b.26-27.

0. Festivals:

1. In Decrees names of Festivals usually have the Article: e.g.

- εἰς τὰ Παναθηναία 657.15.(283/2)
- εὐ|υσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ δτήναι 674.6-7.(273/2)
- τὰ Χαλκεῖα θύσασιν 1b.16.
- τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν τῶν Δωτηρίων 680.7.(249/8).

2. In the formula "to proclaim the crown at the contest(s) of -- Festival", the Article is omitted: e.g.

- Διονυσίων [τῶ]|[ς] ἀγῶνι 555.22-23.(b.307/6-303/2.h.)
- καὶ Ἑλευ|[ς]ινέων καὶ Παναθηναίων [καὶ Πτολεμαίων τοῖς
γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσι 900.9-10.(c.185/4)
- Πτολεμαίων τοῖς [γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν 983.4.(m.s.ii.*).
- Ἀλφειῶν τε τῷ πατρίῳ ἀγῶνι 1299.29.U.(pp.236/5)

Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἑσπερίᾳ τραγοῦσιν τῷ παινῶν ἀγῶνι

1b.31.

Διονυσίων τραγοῦσιν τῷ ἀγῶνι

1223.8.U.(p.179.s.).

3. In the Catalogues of Priests

ἐπὶ καλλ[ιστρά]του ἄρχοντος οἶδε | ἱεροποιῆς [α]ν τῷ

Ἀθηναῖα.

1937.1-2.(156/5)

But:

ἐπὶ Αἰσίδαρου ἄρχοντος οἶδε ἱεροποιῆσαν | Ἰωμαῖα |

Χρυσίππος ἐξ οἴου Σμικυθίων Ἀναγυράσιος | Πτολεμαῖα

1938.1-4.(152/1).

4. If there is a word or phrase in apposition, it has the Article: e.g.

Διονυσίων τῶν μεγάλων

682.75-76.(c.256/5)

Παναθηναίων τῶν μεγάλων

1b.77.

Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἑσπερίᾳ

1299.31.U.(pp.236/5).

Note that all 3 exx. have τῷ ἀγῶνι following, and therefore there is no Article with the name of the Festival itself (see 2 above).

5. Dedications which include names of Festivals listed as headings on the stone do not insert the Article: e.g.

Διονυσίῃ

Ἰσομῖα

Ναῖα

3145.1-2.P.(p.197.s.).

If there is a phrase in apposition, it can be with or without the Article: e.g.

Τροφώνια τὰ ἐν Νῆα Τροφώνια
 Λεβαθεῖαι τὰ ἐν [Δ]ωδώνηι τὰ ἐν Λεβαθεῖαι
 3147.4-5.P.(p.179.s.).

But:

Βασίλεια
 ἐν Εκατεδονταί
 Βασίλεια
 ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείαι 3779.17-20.P.(m.s.iii.π).

P. Ships:

In the naval records 1631 and 1632 there are numerous names of ships. When the ship is named by itself without the addition of

τριήρης or τετρήρης, the Article is inserted: e.g.

ἄπο [τ]ῆς | Δελφίδος 1631.191-192.(323/2)

ἐκ | τῆς Πρόνοιας ib.578-579.

ἐκ τῆς Οἴραν 1632.5.(323/2)

ἄπο τῆς | Νείκης ib.10-11.

If τριήρης or τετρήρης also appears, the Article is omitted: e.g.

τετρήρης Ἀχιλλεία 1631.139.(323/2)

ἐπισκευ|ήν τριήρους Φιλοτιμ[ί]ας ib.483-484.

ἐπισκ|ευήν τριήρους Ἐπε[ί]ας ib.492-493.

There is only 1 ex. of both the Article and τετρήρης viz.

[ἄπο τ]ῆς τετρήρους Ἀχιλλείας ib.165-166.

Note that it is governed by a preposition: (cf. the exx. above

which have the Article).

Q. Numerals:

The Article is found with Numerals in the following meanings:

προανήλκεν δὲ καὶ] ἐκ τῶν ἰσίων ὑπὲρ τὰς ἑκατὸν δρα|
[χιδας εἰς τὰς οὐσίας τὰς γιγνομένας κατ' ἐνέαντον"

H.XI.265.51.6-7.U.(in.s.ii.π).

Here the Article gives the sense "the customary 100 drachmae".

καὶ πεπολιτευμένος μὲν πρὸς τὰ τριάνοντα ἔτη

H.V.422.15.9.(196/5).

Here the significance is "the 30 years" in which the honorand has taken part in public life.

R. ἑκαστός :

The Article is generally inserted: e.g.

κατὰ τὸν στοῖχον ἑκαστον 1682.10.(285/4)

ἐκάστωι τῷ κίονι ib.19.

καθ' ἑκάστην τὴν οὐσίαν 1277.25-26.U.(278/7).

cf. δὲ ἑκατέρου τοῦ γένους 1235.20.U.(c.248/7).

But:

καθ' ἑκάστην οὐσίαν 1314.20.U.(213/2)

καθ' ἑκάστην στρατηγίαν 1304.28.U.(pp.211/10)

καθ' ἑκαστον μῆνα 1325.26.U.(185/4).

S. πῶς/ὅπως :

1. The usual construction is πῶς/ὅπως in the predicative position plus the Article: e.g.

τοῖς ἄλλοις πῶσι

448.51.(318/7)

πῶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν

457.b.11.(307/6).

Apparent exceptions such as

ἐξ Ἀθηναίων ἀπάντων

653.44.(285/4)

πρὸς πάντας Κρηταίους

844.12.(193/2)

are misleading, because Ἀθηναῖοι never has the Article and other peoples are usually without it (see B.2 above).

2. The Article is omitted in the following cases:

ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ [

663.5.(c.286/5.π) etc. etc.

But cf. ἐν [π]αντὶ τῷ καιρῷ

505.9-10.(302/1) which is

modelled on ἕκαστος.

μετὰ πάσης ἀσφαλείας

1304.29.Π.(pp.211/10)

κεφ[ύλαξι]ν σταθμοῦ παντὸς ἐτύμ[ου]

1479.61-62.(312/11).

3. The usual word order is changed in

εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον

463.3.(307/6)

But cf. εἰς ἅπ[α]ντα τὸ [ν] χρόνον

H.VIII.35.9.5.(303/2.π).

τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέ[λειαν]

1281.3.Π.(c.266.h.)

τὴν πᾶσαν πρόνοιαν

1225.14.Π.(c.250.h.)

τὴν πᾶσαν σπουδὴν

1236.6.Π.(a.m.s.ii.π).

T. ὄλος.

Only 1 ex. viz.

ὄλην τὴν πόλιν

457.b.9.(307/6).

IV. The Verbal Aspects.

A. Imperfective and Aorist Aspects:

1. Imperfect Tense:

a) A continuous or repeated action in past time e.g.

ὅπει(όν) κῆδειος πρότερόν τε παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῦ Ἀντιγόνῳ
διακρίβων λέγων καὶ πρώτων τῶ ἄριστα διετέλει τοῖς
π[ρ]οβουλεύειν καὶ τῷ δήμῳ 498.10ff.(303/2.h.)

ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος προσέταττον

500.16-17.(302/1)

ὅν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οἱ τε νόμοι H.S.I.74.29.21.(228/7).

b) Relation between Imperfect and Aorist:

(1) In a typical preamble of a State Decree we find the following distribution of tenses:

ἦλ ὁ δεῖνα ὑγραμμάτευεν

τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν ὁ δεῖνα

ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ

ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν

The reason for the Aorist in the last two is quite straightforward

i.e., a single past action: "it was resolved by the People"; "X. made the proposal". Equally straightforward is the Imperfect of the first

ex.: "X. was the secretary".

But what are we to make of ἐπεψήφισεν ? There may be a tentative or inceptive notion behind the Imperfect, but I think that we should look for the explanation primarily in the fact that in earlier preambles this item was in the form ὁ δεῖνα ἐπεστώτει - "X. was chairman". So, in this later version - "of the proedroi X. put the matter to the vote" - not only is the action considered but also the office of the agent.

I think it is worthwhile to examine one of these earlier preambles: e.g. I². 94.(418/7) :-

Οσοῖ.

[Ἔ]δοχσαν τέτ[τα]τοι καὶ τοῖς ὁμοῖοις Πανδιονίδας ἐκρυπταίνευσεν,
 Ἀριστοδόχ[ου] ἐνοχος ὑγραμμάτευσεν, Ἀντιοχίδης ἐπεστώτει,
 Ἀντιφῶν ἔρχε, Ἀδόστο[ς] [εἰς τὴν] ἵππευ.

Here we see a list of Imperfects describing the function of their respective subjects. There must certainly have been a considerable degree of formulaic interaction.

Cf. also the typical heading of the Choregic Monuments, where we find an identical use of the Imperfect: e.g. 3079.1-4.(282/1):-

ὁ δῆμος ἐ[χο]ρ[ή]γει, Μικίος ἦρχε.
 ἄγωνοῦσ[αν] τ[ῆς] γλ[υφ]ῆς [ν]ο[μ]οκλῆδους Αἰθαιῶντος.
 Λεωντίδης [ἀν]δρῶν ἐνὶ κ[α]τ[ὰ] ἵπποις, Ἰπποκλῆς ποιῶτις
 ἦσται, Θ[εοδω]ρίδης ποιῶτις ἐδίδασκε.

Again we have a list of Imperfects - "X. was choregos/archon/flute-player/didaskalos".

(N.B. For ἐνὶ κ[α]τ[ὰ] ἵπποις, see (iii).3 below.)

(11) In expressions of the type : " about the things which X. reports concerning the sacrifices which X. sacrificed to ---, ἀγαθῆς τύχης be it resolved

(either) by the Council that the proedroi should ... and convey the opinion of the Council to the People that the Council is resolved (or) by the People

to accept τῶ ἀγαθῶ which (they say) happened at the sacrifices which X. sacrificed", there is a curious interplay between the Imperfect and the Aorist in the 2 relative clauses "which X. sacrificed".

To begin with the first of these relative clauses, there are the following exx.:-

Aorist:

περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ[ουσιν ὁ] ἱερεὺς τῶν μυστηρίων ὑπὲρ
τῇ[ς οὐσίας] ἦν ἔθυσεν 661.7-9.(267/6)

περὶ ὧν ἀ[παγγέλλ]ει ὁ ἀγωνοοδότης ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅς
ἔθυσεν 780.6-7.(252/1)

ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ ἐλευσινίων ὑπὲρ τῶν
οὐσι[ῶν] ὧν ἔθυσεν 949.6-7.(165/4).

Imperfect:

ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ[ουσιν οἱ] κρυτάνεις τῆς ἐανδριονίδος
ὑπὲρ τῶν οὐσιῶν ὅ[ν] ἔθυσεν 790.8-10.(235/4);

So too the other Prytany-Decrees: cf. H.IX.84.15.10.(283/2); H.S.I.
74.29.10.(228/7); S.XIV.68.8.(214/3); H.S.I.120.64.5.(178/7).

Of. also the following 2 exx. where the stone is very mutilated, although the relative clause is legible and it is also clear who is being honoured:

ὅν ἔουε 689.9.(263/2.*); priest of Zeus being honoured.

ὅν ἔουον 783.5.(163/2.gr.); priest of Zeus and someone else being honoured.

These exx. show that, although the formulae in the Prytany-Decrees always employed the Imperfect, other similar formulae could vary between the Imperfect and the Aorist.

In the second relative clause, we find in the formula referring to the Council:

τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι [αὐ]τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἃ ποιεῖν
γεγονότα [ἐ]ν τοῖς ἑποῖς οἷς ἔουον 661.15-17.(267/6)

cf. οἷς ἔουε 689.18.(263/2.*).

And in the formula referring to the People:

[... τὰ μὲν ἃ]γαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἑποῖς
οἷς ἔουον 780.8-9.(252/1)

cf. οἷς ἔουον 790.15.(235/4); H.S.I.74.29.15.(228/7); S.XIV.68.
12.(214/3); H.S.I.120.64.7.(178/7).

But there is also 1 ex. of the Aorist in the formula referring to the Council viz.

τὰ μὲν ἃγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα [αὐ]τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον
οἷς ἔουον 949.14-15.(165/4).

This is the only ex. of the Aorist at this point in the formula.

The explanation may be found in the fact that, unlike all the other exx. of the second relative clause, the preceding ὅτι δὲ clause lists not only the sacrifices which the honorand has performed but also various other services rendered, all in the Aorist: see 1b.8-11.

It can be seen, therefore, that, apart from this 1 exception, all the exx. of the second relative clause use the Imperfect. Presumably the reason is that this represents a repeated action or the time within which the various good omens manifested themselves. As for the first relative clause, the Imperfect or the Aorist is chosen depending on whether the fact that the sacrifices involved a repeated action is predominant or simply the fact that the sacrifices were carried out.

(iii) In inserr. 956.(161/0), 957.(157/6) and 958.(154/3) are Decrees honouring the ἀγωνοθέτης of the Θεσβία and lists of the victors. Here the Imperfect, Aorist and Perfect are all used for "the victors". What then is the distinction?

I group the exx. according to their formulaic categories:

1. in the ἐπεὶ-Clause:-

ἀνέστησαν δὲ καὶ στήλην ἐν τῷ τοῦ Θεσβίου τεμένει εἰς ἣν
ἀνέγραψε τοὺς νικῆσαντας

2. at the end of the resolutions:-

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τούτοις τὸ ψήφισμα τῶν γραμματέων τῶν κατὰ κρυ-
πτεῖον εἰς στήλην ἐν ἣ καὶ οἱ νενικηκότεες

3. heading the catalogue of victors:-

οἷος ἐνίκων τὸν ἀγῶνα τῶν Θεσβίων

and in the actual list:-

φύλη ἐνίκη --

I think that the starting-point of a solution to this problem is found in realising that νικῶ frequently means "I am the victor"

rather than "I am winning". So ἐνίκηον = "I was the victor", and this is the explanation of the Imperfect in the third group. Cf. the Choregic Monuments: e.g.

Ολυηδς φηλ η κατω [γ δ] νικα 3054.2.Π.(323/2)

*ηρεχθηδς ανδρων ενικα 3078.3.(in.s.iii.κ).

In the second group I suggest that the Perfect Participle is used to represent the Imperfect Indicative with the meaning given above, thus avoiding using the Present Participle which is the only alternative. Translate: "in which also (sc. are recorded) those who were the victors".

The first group is to be explained thus: "in which he recorded those who had won" i.e. a completed action in past time, the ἐπελόν - Clause as a whole being past in relation to the resolutions as a whole, and τοδς νικησαντας itself being past in relation to the recording.

2. Present and Aorist Tenses:

The tenses of the Subjunctive, Imperative, and also of the Optative and Infinitive when these do not stand in Indirect Speech, do not express time, although the Aorist Subjunctive and Optative may mark the action as occurring before the action of the Principal Clause.

a) The Infinitive:

The Present and Aorist Infinitives do not in themselves mark differences of time, but only differences in the character of the action - excepting Indirect Speech with which I am not concerned.

here. The Aorist Infinitive marks the action as occurring, the Present marks the action as not completed i.e., going on, repeated or attempted.

This distinction is particularly clear in the following formulaic imperatival infinitives:-

(1) Aorist: the following imperatival infinitives are always Aorist - with a very few, and easily explainable, exceptions which I note in passing - and refer to a single action:-

ἐπαινεῖσαι; καλέσαι ἐκὶ δεῖπνον; στεφανῶσαι; γραψέσθαι
φύλης καὶ δήμου καὶ φροσύνης; ἀναγορεύσαι / ἀνειπεῖν;
τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις δοῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψήφον; τοὺς
προέδρους ... προσαγαγεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ
κρηματίσαι; δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ σίτησιν; καὶ ἕλλο ἀγαθὸν
ἐδρέσθαι; χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον .. ἄνδρας; ἀναγράψαι δὲ
τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα; καὶ στήσαι ἐν ἀκροπόλει; εἰς δὲ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης δοῦναι / μερίσαι.

Contrast the following exx. with the Present Infinitive:

στεφανοῦν | δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑκτετα χρόνον κατ' ἐνταυ|τὸν
καθ' ἐκάστην οὐσίαν καὶ ἀναγορεύειν | τὸν στέφανον
αὐτῆς τοῦς ἐπιμελητάς" 1314.18-21.U.(213/2)

στεφανοῦν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸν ἑ|κτετα χρόνον ταῖς οὐσίαις καὶ
ἀναγο|ρεύειν τὸν στέφανον αὐτῆς.
1315.23-25.U.(211/10).

The phrases καθ' ἐκάστην οὐσίαν and ταῖς οὐσίαις make these repeated actions, and so the Present Infinitive is used.

Cf. also : ἀναγράφ|ειν δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐπεισιδόντων συνθιλωστέων |

τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκὼν καταβάλλωσιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλο [ν] αὐτοῖς τοῦ
 ὑπάρχοντος ἄγγυρτον κατὰ τὸ [ν ν] ὁ[μον] ἐν τῷ
 ἑρᾶναι.
 1298.16-20, U. (247/6).

(ii) Present: the following are always Present:-

γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς κτλ.

Here one might expect the Aorist for the single action of conveying the Council's decision to the People. The Present is used presumably to show the tentative nature of the suggestion.

ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἔγκτησιν οἰκίας κτλ.

ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν πατρικὴν προξενίαν καὶ τοῖς

ἐκγόνοις

Here ὑπάρχειν = εἶναι which is the usual infinitive in expressions of this type. The infinitive is Present to denote the continuance of the action.

τὰ μὲν ἄγαθὰ δεῦροσθαι (cf. 1.b.(ii) above)

There may be a tentative quality about this infinitive, and there may also be the idea behind it that reference is made not only to the act of accepting the blessings but to the resultant state of having or enjoying these blessings.

(iii) Aorist and Present: some expressions use both tenses, but I think it will be clear from the exx. I quote below that there is this distinction viz. simple action as opposed to repeated or continued action:-

τῆς [δ] ποί[σ]ως τοῦ [σ] τεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεω [ς]

[δ] επιμεληθῆναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τεῖ δι [ο] [ε] κήσει

654.43-46. (285/4)

τ[ῆς δ] δ [ἀνα]γραφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ταμίαν

1316.22.υ. (272/1).

Contrast:

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων τῶν Εὐφρονος [τῆν]

βουλὴν τῇν δεῖ βουλευούσαν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς

448.74-75. (318/7)

τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως | τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς

ἔρχοντας | τοὺς δεῖ καθισταμένους ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῦ
γένους.

1235.18-20.υ. (c.248/7).

κατανεῖμαι δ' αὖ το [τ]ο [ε] καὶ ο [ῶν τὸν ὀρχιτέκτο] | να

εῖς τὰ Λιονύς [ι] α τὰ Περραικά.

456.b.32-33. (307/6).

Contrast:

τὸν δ | δ ὀρχιτέκτονα κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς | τῇν οὖσαν δεῖ οὖ

ἂν καὶ τοῖς στρατη[γ] | οῖς κατανέμῃται.

500.33-36. (302/1)

cf. καὶ δοῦναι αὐτῷ | ἀπέλειαν καὶ νέμει | ν αὐτῷ πρὸς

ἐν τοῖς | ἑποῖς οἷς ἂν οὖσε[ι] | ν

1204.11-15.υ. (f.s.iv.π).

The following group consists of exx. of non-formulaic imperatival infinitives ("non-formulaic" means that they occur only once). They all have the characteristic form of the formulae quoted above, and

show the same distinction between Present and Aorist:—

Aorist:

ἐλέσθαι [ι] δὲ καὶ δημόσιον τὸν ἄντι|γραφόμενον

839.42-43.(221/0)

οὔσαι δὲ πῶι θε|ῶι ἀρεστήριον ἀπὸ πάντε καὶ δέκα

δρα|χμῶν

1b.45-47.

καταστήσαι [δ]ὲ τοὺς ὀργεῖνας ζῴκορον τεῖ θεῶι διὰ

[ἔ]ον| μητροδώραν

1328.39-40.U.(175/4).

Present:

δοῦναι δὲ αὐτῶι | καὶ πολιτεῶν 850.14-15.(197/6)

cf. the last ex. of the previous group above. The distinction between

δοῦναι αὐτῶι ἀτέλειαν and this must depend on whether the idea

of the grant or the idea of the continuing state of ἀτέλεια and

πολιτεῖα is uppermost in the mind of the writer.

cf. τοὺς ἀστυνόμους τοὺς δεῖ λαχόντας, ὅταν ᾖ | ἡ κομπή τῆς

Ἀφροδίτης τεῖ Πανδῆ|μωι, παρασκευάζειν εἰς κάθαρσι [ν]

τοῦ ἱεροῦ περισσότερῶν καὶ περιελε[ῖ][ψα]ι τοὺς βωμοὺς

καὶ κτεῖναι τὰς [δ][ροφῶς] καὶ λοῦσαι τὰ ἕδη

659.20-26.(283/2).

Here, I suppose, παρασκευάζειν is inceptive, while the sub-

sequent Aorists simply denote the actions they stand for.

The next group consists of infinitives which are not imperatival:—

Aorist:

κρ|οεῖλετο τελευτῆσαι

448.53-54.(318/7)

οὐκ οἶόμενος δεῖν ἐνοχλήσαι αὐτοὺς 672.24.(279/8.h.)

μη ἐξέστω δὲ μηθενὶ ἐπιθεῖναι [ι] πλεόν

H.XI.290.56.19.(247/6).

Present:

ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ἐκίσταται χαρίτος ἀποδιδόναι καταλείψας

(formula) e.g. 505.41-43.(302/1)

τῶν βουλευμένων εὐεργετεῖν τ[ὸν] δῆμ[ον]

H.XI.290.56.25.(247/6)

τοὺς δὲ | λανθάνοντας ἱεροποιεῖν

1263.38-39.U.(300/299)

νόμοι πειθοῦ | χούντες ὅς κελεύει τοὺς ἑρῶντας πέμπειν

τῇ κομῇ

1283.10-11.U.(263/2)

(* For ν replaces γ before χ , see Ph.II.F.2.b.(iv).)

τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις οἱ ἂν λάχουσιν πρυτανεύειν

(formula) e.g. 654.50-51.(285/4)

τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχουσιν προεδρεύειν

(formula) e.g. 505.44-45.(302/1).

These last 2 exx. equal " to be presidents/chairmen "; cf. in the earlier preamble

Χ. ἐπρυτάνευε

X. was the tribe which held the prytany

Χ. ἐπρεσβύτει

X. was chairman.

And cf. also

βουλε[ύ]ειν λαχὼν τ[ὸν] ἐν[τὴν] αὐτῷ [ν] ἐ[κ] τ[ῆς] ὀβούλου

ἑρ[χ]οντος

678.11.(p.256/5).

b) The Imperative:

There is the same distinction between Present and Aorist: e.g.

Aorist:

καὶ ὁὕτω εἰς ἁ[ναγραφὴν 556.10.(c.305.π)

στε]φανῶσατο αὐτὸν ὁ ὄμι[ος 1b.12.

ἁ[ναγραφήσαντες δὲ καὶ τὸν στέφανον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἁγ[ιοῦ ἁγίου
1297.18-20.υ.(237/6).

Present:

ἐκαναγκάζοντων | δὲ καὶ τοὺς τὸν [χ]οὺν κατε[με]λῆκότες
εἰς τὰς ὁδ[ο]ς ταύτας [ἀ]ναί [ρ]εῖν τ[ρ]όποις δ[ι] τοῖς
ἁγ. ἐπιστολ[α]ις. 380.25-28.(320/19)

κα[τ]αλείτω αὐτὸν [ὁ ὁμήτορος ὁ δὲ] | τὸ δημαρχὸν εἰς τὴν
[προεδρίαν 1194.14-15.υ.(c.300.π).

cf. καὶ τὸν ἱερεῖα τὸν δεῖ λαχόν | [τ]α καὶ ἔντα ἔταν
οὕτως οἱ οὐκ ἔχοντες [τ]α καὶ σπονδὰς ποιήσονται,
στεφανοῦτω | ὁ ἱερεὺς Σωτήριον θαλλοῦ στεφανῶναι |
καὶ ἀνελκύτω 1273.13-17.υ.(281/0).

In this last ex. the construction seems to have been intended to be an Accusative + Imperative Infinitive. However, it has been broken half-way and an Imperative with the subject added again used instead. One wonders why ἀνελκύτω is not in the Present like στεφανοῦτω. Perhaps ἀνελκεῖν is felt to be at least half-way to the status of ἀνελκεῖν which has no corresponding imperfective aspect.

c) The Subjunctive:**(1) Final Clauses:****Aorist:**

ὅπως ὁ/ν ἡ ὁγορά ..|... ὁμαλισθεῖ 380.8-10.(320/19)

Cf. Optative (only ex.)

ἔκραττεν π[ρὸς τε τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τὸν δή|[μ]ον

ὅπως φυλακῇ ἐκὼν ἔλθοι Ἐλευ|[οῦ]νάδε

1193.6-9.Π.(f.s.iv.π)

Present:

ὅπως ἂν καὶ οἱ ἄλλ[οι πάντες]|[ς] φιλοτιμῶνται ποιεῖν

ἀγ[οράν]

Π.ΙΧ.345.44.40-41.(319/8)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ὁ δῆμος ἐμ[ε] καὶ τὸν καιρῷ μεμνημένος

φαίνεται

Π.ΙΥ.525.39.25-26.(226/5)

ὅπως ἔχωσιν ἀπὸ τῆς προσόδου οὕειν τῷ θεῷ

1325.23.Π.(185/4).

Aorist and Present:

ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμ[ος] ἐλευθερος ἂν καὶ τὸν Πειραιεῖ

κομίσσεται καὶ τὰ | φρούρια τὴν ταχίστην

657.34-36.(283/2)

Here διαμένει refers to the continued ἐλευθερία, κομίσσεται to the act of recovering the Piraeus and the garrison.

ὅπως ἂν δὲ καὶ τὰ θεῶν οὕσῳσιν ..|... καὶ ἔχει καλῶς

καὶ εὐσεβῶς τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ π[ρὸς τοὺς]
[θεοὺς],

674.16-18.(273/2)

Here οὕσῳσιν refers to the act of sacrifice, ἔχει to the continued state of well-being with regard to things divine.

(ii) Indefinite Clauses:

Here the Aorist Subjunctive marks the action as occurring before the

action of the Principal Clause: e.g.

ἔπε[ι δὲ]ν δ' ἐπισκευα|σθεῖ το[ῦ] ἀγορανομ[ῆ]ο [ν δ' ἐνδε]ῖται
 ..|... τὰ λο[γ]ικὰ χρέη [αὐτῶ] κατ' α[βάν]αλιν α|ὐτοῦς
 380.28ff. (320/19)

ὥπως ἂν εἴ πᾶσιν φαν|ερὸν ... |ὅτι <τι>μηθήσονται κατ'
 ἀξίαν ἐπιστογῶν ἂν ἂν εὐεργετή|σει τοῦς θιασώτας.
 1271.18-21.υ. (299/8.π)

ὅτι ὅ* ἂν ἀνάλ|ωρα γένηται λογίσσασθαι τεῖ φ[υλ] | εἴ
 1163.26-28.υ. (284/3).

The Present, as usual, marks the action as being repeated or continued: e.g.

ἐπαναγινώσκοντες | δὲ καὶ τοῦς τὸν [χ]οῦν κατα[ρε]βληκότας
 ε|ἰς τὰς δὲ [ο]ύς ταύτας [ἀ]ναί [ρ]εῖν τ[ρ]όποι δ|τωι
 ἂν ἐπίστων[τα]ι. 380.25-28. (320/19)

This is an excellent ex. for it shows Imperative, Infinitive and Subjunctive all in the Present Tense.

ὅταν δὲ | θύωσιν οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῷ ἥρωι τοῦ βο|ηδρομιεύου,
 παρέχειν Διόγνητον 2499.24-26.υ. (306/5).

Expressions of the sort: "wherever/whatever he wishes", are in the Present, presumably because the desire will continue even after the wish has been implemented: e.g.

εἰκόνα στ|ῆσαι ἑαυτοῦ χαλκῆν ἐφ' ἑπα|ου ἐν ἀγορᾷ. ἔπου
 ἂμ ρούλη|ται 450.b.8-11. (314/3)

τὸ δὲ ἀνάει|μα ἀναθεῖναι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ οὐ ἂν ρο|ύληται
 1263.25-27.υ. (300/299).

cf. $\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\upsilon\ \delta\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\iota\ \delta\epsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota$ (formula) e.g.

H.IV.525.39.43.(226/5).

There may also be the distinction of "wanting" as opposed to "deciding": cf.

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\eta\sigma\]\epsilon\nu\ \delta\nu\ \tau\eta\iota\ \tau\epsilon\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Delta\eta\mu\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \chi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\tau\omega\upsilon.$

$\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\]\]\kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\delta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\ 1236.5-6.U.(n.m.s.ii.)*$

where $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ means "after he had decided sc. to have it put there".

(iii) Conditional Clauses:

This divides into

1. Conditions referring to the Future (Protasis: $\epsilon\delta\omega\nu$ + Subjunctive; Apodosis: usually Future Indicative): e.g.

$\epsilon\delta\omega\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\epsilon\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota\]\ \text{sc. Fut. Indic.} 463.43.(307/6)$

(For $\delta\epsilon\iota\eta\tau\alpha\iota$, see PH.I.D.6.b.(iii).)

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \epsilon\nu\ \tau\iota\ \epsilon\gamma\]\lambda\epsilon\iota\kappa\epsilon\iota,\ \delta\nu\tau\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\omicron\rho\alpha\theta\acute{\omicron}\sigma\epsilon\iota\]\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$

$\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{\omicron}\nu. 2499.16-18.U.(306/5)$

(For $\epsilon\kappa > \epsilon\gamma$ before λ , see PH.II.D.1.d.)

cf. $\epsilon\delta\omega\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\ \gamma\]\]\gamma\iota\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\alpha\delta\ \tau\omicron\omega\upsilon\ \chi\omega\rho\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\iota\rho\mu\omicron\tau\omicron\varsigma,$

$\eta\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma,\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\varsigma\ \delta\eta\mu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\]\]\sigma\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\epsilon\iota\nu 2498.7-9.U.(321/0)$

$\epsilon\delta\omega\nu\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\ \tau\iota\varsigma\]\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\alpha\ \gamma\iota\eta\eta\tau\alpha\iota\ \delta\alpha\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \tau\iota\rho\acute{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma\]\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$

$\delta\rho\gamma\epsilon\omega\sigma\iota\nu\ \epsilon\iota\upsilon\alpha\iota. 2499.37-39.U.(306/5).$

2. Exx. of Aorist Subjunctive referring to the time prior to the main verb: e.g.

$\delta\ \delta\eta\mu\]\]\ \omicron\varsigma\ \delta\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\theta\eta\nu\alpha\iota\omega\nu,\ \epsilon\delta\omega\nu\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\delta\ \kappa\omicron\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\delta\ \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu$

αὐτ[ο]ῖς τοὺς ποιήσαντας ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς τῶν εὐεργετῶν καὶ ἕως
οἷεται δεῖν τιμῶν 448.81-84.(318/7)

ἐ[κ] τῆς δὲ τιμωρίας μέχρι τοῦ ἀπολογησθαι [ὅς . . .] ,
παύσει 463.47-48.(307/6).

d) The Participle:

The tenses of the Participle denote the same time as the corresponding tenses of the Indicative. But the time expressed by the Participle is relatively present, past or future in respect to the time of the verb with which it is associated: e.g.

Present:

ἐπαινέσαι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος ἀγαθός ἰδὲι | τε παρ' Ἀθηναίους
τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους εἰς τὴν χώραν τὴν ἐσθ' αὐτοῦ.
450.a.12-16.(314/3)

Here τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους = "those who keep coming to".

διατρίβων παρ' Ἀντιγό[ν]ος [ὅτι πᾶσι βασιλεῖ] ἔειπεν ἦν
646.9-10.(295/4.*)

διατρίβων = "while he was staying".

Aorist:

ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρόδρομοι οἱ ἀποσταλέντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα
Κάσσανδρον ἀποφαίνουσι 641.12-15.(299/8)

τοὺς λοχόντας προέδρους εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκκλησίαν
κηρύττει (formula) e.g. 779.6-7.(250/49)

cf. τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχουσιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὸν δῆμον
(formula) e.g. 657.53-54.(283/2).

e) The Indicative:

In ἐπειδὴ-clauses the distinction between Present, Imperfect, Perfect and Aorist seems simply to be: "whereas X. is doing, was doing, has done, did -". e.g.

ἐπειδὴ [ε] ἢ [α] | εἰδὼς ὁ λατρός διατελεῖ πρὸς ὅτων τῶ
 συμφέροντα τῶι δήμῳ | τῶι Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοὺς θεο-
 μένους Ἀθηναίων θεραπεύων [φ]ιλοτίμως καὶ νῦν
 ἐπιθέδω[κ] | [ε]ν ἑαυτῶν δημοσιεύειν δωρε | [σ]ν
 483.12ff.(304/3)

[ε] | [κ] εἰδὼς Νίκανδρος Ἀντιφάνους Ἰλίου καὶ Πολύζ[η] | [λ]ος
 Ἀπολλοφάνους Ἐφέσιος διατετελεκάσιν ἐν [π] | ἀντι
 τῶι καί τῶι εὐνοῦς ὄντες τῶι δήμῳ τῶι Ἀθηναίων
 καὶ κατοικοῦντες Ἀθήνησιν εἰς πολλὰ τῶν [σ] | [ν] μ-
 φερόντων τῶι δήμῳ χρήσιμοι γεγονάσιν καὶ
 ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ πολέμου εἰς τὰς ναῦς | [τὰς] μετ'
 Εὐε[τ]ῆ | ὀνος ἐκπλευσάσας εἰς τὴν πρώτη | [ν] ἐξέτ | ασιν
 καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως συνεπεμελήθησ | [αν,
 505.7ff.(302/1).

B. Future Aspect:

1. Indicative: occurs especially in

a) Building Contracts: e.g. 463.passim(307/6) e.g.

καὶ σφηνώσει σφησὶν 1b.44.

[κ]αὶ κεραμώσει Λακων [ι] κ[ω]ι κεράμῳ 1b.69.

b) Leases: e.g.

[κ]αὶ σκάψει | τὰς ἀμπέλους ὅας κατ[ὰ] πα[ρ] σ[κ]ῶν τῶν ὁρῶν

ο [[π]ερει δὲ τῆς γῆς σέτωι τὴν ἡμίσειαν, τῇ|ς δὲ
ἀργοῦ ὀσπρεῖσαι 1241.20-24.υ. (300/299).

c) Final Clauses with ὅστις : e.g.

χειροτονῆσαι ὅς τὸν θῆ|μον ἦον πρεῖς ἄνθρωπος ἐξ Ἀθηναίων
οὔτινες | ἐπιμελήσονται τῆς το ποιήσεως τῆς εἰκόνης
682.84-86. (c.256/5).

2. Infinitive: occurs after verbs of Swearing, Promising, Undertaking: e.g.

ὁμ|νύω ... | [ε... ἐ]μ[υ]νεῖν ἐν τεῖ συμμάχῳ
687.54-55. (265/4)

ἀνεδέξατο παοιεῖν | υ. VII.120.23.13. (250/49)

ἐπαγγ[έλ]|λεται ... | ... ἔξιον ἑαυτὸν παρέξειν
1299.14-17.υ. (pp.236/5)

ὁκομεμένῳ τὴν ταμιεῖαν εἰς τὸν | [με]τὰ ταῦτα χρόνον
διεξάξειν καὶ ἐκαν[ε]ῖν τὴν | [σύνο]δον
v 1326.37-39.υ. (176/5).

3. Participle: can be used to express Purpose: e.g.

ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν α|ὐτοῦ Λημήτριον ἐλευθερώσο[ντ]α
498.b.16-17. (303/2.h.)

ἐξέπεμπε | [ν] τοὺς τε ἐπιλέκτους καὶ τοὺς [πρεῖς] συναγων-
ιουμέν[ους] ὑπὲρ τῆς ποινηῆς σωτηρίας
680.11-13. (249/8)

ἐλέσθα[ν] | δὲ καὶ δημόσιον τὸν ἀντι|γραφόμενον
839.42-43. (221/0).

C. Perfective Aspect:1. Indicative and Participle:

a) State resulting from a completed action: e.g.

ἐπειδὴ | πρότερον μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ
οἱ σύμμαχοι .. | .. ἄγωνας ἡγωνίσσαντο
καὶ νῦν οὐκ [α]ιρῶν | καθειληφόντων ὁμοίαν τὴν ἑλλάδα
κῆσαν ὃ τε βασιλεὺς Ἰστολέμεϊος .. | ..
φανερὸς ἐστὶν | σπουδαίων, ὑπὲρ τῆς κοινῆς [τῶν]
ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας· καὶ | ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων .. |
.. ἐψήφισται κατακολεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν | προαίρεσιν·
ὁσαύτως οὐ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι εἰσὶν
ἐψηφισμένοι σύμμαχοι [καὶ] κρέσσει ...
ἀπεσπάλασιν πρὸς τὸν δῆ[μον] καὶ οἱ παρογεγονότες
παρ' αὐτῶν ἐμφανίζουσιν κτλ.

687,7ff. (268/7)

ὅσα κατέρ[χ]ωγεν τοῦ πείχοντος 463,75. (307/6)

κατὰ τῶς μερίσσωται τὰ ἔργα ib. 119.

τοῦ καθ[εστ]ῆτο [εὐ]στροφ[ῆ]ς | καὶ 401,7-8. (b. 321-319).

b) The Perfect is found frequently in ἐπειδὴ-Clauses side by side with the Aorist, both denoting a past action: e.g.

ἐπειδὴ | οὐδ' οἱ κρυτάνεις τὰς τε εὐσείας ἔθουσιν ἀπάσαι[ς] |
ὅσαι καθῆκον ἐν ταῖς κρυτανεῖαι καλῶς καὶ φι|λοτίμως·
ἐπεμελέληντο οὐ καὶ τῆς συναγωγῆς | τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ
τοῦ δῆμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπ[ὸ] [ν] | των ἐν αὐτοῖς προ-

ἐταύτην κατ.

H.S.I.74.29.16ff.(228/7).

Contrast:

ἔπειθ' οἱ πρὸς [τ]ῶν τε οὐσίας βούσαν ἀπάσας
 δοῦναι καθήκον ἐν τεῖ κρυπταίνει καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως,
 ἔπειτα [λῆ]θησαν δὲ κατ. H.S.I.120.64.8ff.(178/7).

2. Infinitive: is used as an Imperative: e.g.

ἐψηφίσθαι τῶν δῆμων (formula) e.g. 373.26-27.(322/1)

δεδοχθαι τῶν δῆμων " " 380.12-13.(320/19)

δεδοχθαι τῇ βουλῇ " " 500.20-21.(302/1).

cf. δεδοχθαι τῇ — φυλῇ e.g. 1159.15-16.U.(303/2)

δεδοχθαι κῆρυξι καὶ ἑομολπίδαις

1235.12.U.(c.248/7)

δεδοχθαι τοῖς ὁμοσώταις e.g. 1263.20.U.(300/299)

δεδοχθαι τοῖς ὀργεῶσιν " 1283.13.U.(257/6).

3. It is noticeable that in 1534.A.(292/1.*), among numerous exx. of the Aorist ἀνέστημεν there is 1 ex. of the Perfect viz.

κύριος ἐμ. καλαιοίωι, ἐνι γυν[νῇ] ἀπο]σευχομέ[νῃ], ὃν

ἀνατέστημεν *A[ρ]ιστονίκη 1b.76.

Why this should be so I cannot say, unless it is simply a mistake.

V. The Infinitive.

A. As Imperative: this is very common in the provisions of Decrees:

see IV.A.2.a. above for a list of imperatival infinitives.

B. As a noun-equivalent with the Article: a few exx. viz.

- διὸ τὸ [ἐπεὶ] πεντήρη κατασταθῆναι 1632.34-35. (323/2)
 εἰς τὸ εὐτάκτως ὑπακούειν 672.25. (279/8.h.)
 εἰς τὸ μηδεὶς τῶν δουρῶν [ν] ἀπράκτους γενόμενους
 ἀπείναι 1225.6-7. U. (c. 250.h.)
 τὴν πῶσιν κρόνοισιν ἀποεῖτο τοῦ μηδὲν βλαφερόν γίνεσθαι
 ib. 14.
 μετὰ τὸ ἀπεχθῆναι αὐτὸ 903.13. (c. 176/5).

C. To express Purpose: only 2 exx. of this viz.

- ἐμίσησαν τὸ ἱερὸν το[ῦ] Ἐγγρέτου Διογνήτωι Ἀρκεσίλου
 κα[ὶ] λῆτε εἰς δέκα ἔτη : III: δραχμῶν τοῦ ἐ[ῖ] νικωντοῦ
 ἐκδοσίου, χρῆσθαι τῷ ἱερῷ καὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις τοῖς
 ἐνωϊκοῖς οἰκημένοις ὡς ἱερῷ. 2499.2ff. U. (306/5)
 ὅπως ἂν ἐκτε[ρῶσι] κα[ὶ] γὰρ οἱ ν[ε]ο[ί]ομο[ι] θετημένοι [ἐπεὶ]
 ἔρε[β]οις | ἔρχοντες σκοπεῖν [τῷ] βουλο[μένῳ] | καὶ
 μηδὲ εἰς ἄν[θρω]πιν τοῦς τῆς [αὐτοῦ] λέως νόμους.
 487.6ff. (c. 304/3).

In this second ex. σκοπεῖν τῷ βουλομένῳ is a formula expressing Purpose. ἀγνοεῖν is an error for the Subjunctive ἀγνοεῖ (= -ῆι), perhaps because of σκοπεῖν, perhaps connected with the Ephelkustic Nu. (see PH.II.E.1 at end.)

VI. Coordination.

A. Coordinating Conjunctions:

1. τε . . . καί : e.g.

πειθόμενος τοῖς τε νόμοις καὶ | τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν

H.VII.100.18.15-16. (282/1)

ἐπεμελήθησαν τῶν | τε θυσιῶν καὶ τῶν ἑλλων πάντων

1317.b.4-5.8. (248/7).

2. τε . . . καὶ . . . καὶ : e.g.

ὅφ' ἔγχεσθαι καὶ | στήριξαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου

καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν | φίλων καὶ συμμάχων

949.15-17. (165/4).

3. καὶ . . . καὶ : e.g.

καὶ κοινῇ | καὶ ἰδίᾳ

1263.15-16.8. (300/299)

καὶ νῦν | καὶ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον

H.VII.100.18.20-21. (282/1).

4. οὔτε . . . οὔτε : e.g.

οὔτε πό|νον οὔτε κίνδυνον ὑπολογισάμενος οὐδένα | τῶν

ἔσομένων οὔτε δαπάνης οὐδεμίας φροντί|σας

H.IV.525.39.16ff. (226/5)

οὔτε καποκά[θη] αν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε κί [ν] | δυνάει ὑποσσελλόμενος

1304.8-9.8. (pp.211/10)

οὔσο δὲ τοιαύτη χάριν οὐ δικαίαν πεκόμισμαι,

οὔτε παρ' ὅν ὄμνην οὔτε ἀπὸ δαιμονίου. G.1691.3-4.P. (m.s.iii.π).

5. μήτε ... μήτε : e.g.

μήτε ἐκ τοῦ ὀφειοῦ μήτε ἐκ τῶν ἑλλ[ω]ν τεμενῶν

2498.10-11.U.(321/0)

μήτε θαλάσσης μήτε πινυδύ[νου]

H.XEIX.18.24.13.(s.ii.*).

6. ἢ ... ἢ : e.g.

ἢ εἴπαι ἢ πράξει

1275.14.U.(in.s.iii.*)

ἢ ὀρθνός ἢ γ[ε]ι[σ]ήπους ἢ γαῖσόν λ[ε]θινόν ἢ καρμεοῦν

ἢ |

463.51.(307/6).

7. μέν ... ὅδε : e.g.

στῆσαι τ|ῆν μὲν ἐν τῷ "Λοκαπηλίστῳ, τῆν δὲ ἐν τῷ

"Ἰπποθωντίῳ"

1163.24-26.U.(284/3)

τοπίᾳ δύο, τὸ μὲν χρυσοῦν IIII, τὸ δ' ἀργυροῦν

1534.B.209.(247/6).

8. τε ... ὅδε καὶ : this combination is very frequent, and seems to belong to the period when the citations were becoming longer and more fulsome. The real coordination is between τε and ὅδε, καὶ being adverbial. e.g.

ἐπειδὴ οὐλεῦς τὰς τε θυσοῦς δαῖας κρ[οσ]|[η]κεν

αὐτὸν οὔσαι πάσας καλῶς κα|[ε] φιλοτίμως πέθουκεν ..|..

ἐπιμελεῖται ὁ|δ καὶ π.λ.

1163.3ff.U.(284/3)

τῆς τε τοῦ πλοῦτος ἐκ|[ε] σκευῆς ἐπεμελήθη "ἔθηκεν

ὁδ καὶ π.λ.

S.XV.112.4-7.U.(225/4)

τὰς τε οὐσίας τεθυκὲς [ναὶ ὑπάρχουσας] | .. | .. ἐπιμεμελησθαι δὲ
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀ[πάντων] S.XVI.91,50-52,(173/2).

9. καὶ (νῦν) δὲ : this is also very common. The connective is
δὲ, and the phrase with καὶ is adverbial; e.g.

καὶ νῦν δὲ κ[448,77.(318/7)

καὶ νῦν δὲ πάλιν χε[ιροτον]|ηοεῖς στρατηγὸς ὁσαύτως
πεφρόντικεν 1281,6-7,Π,(c.266,h.)

cf. καὶ ἄλλαις δὲ πολλαῖς | [ς 457,b,8-9,(307/6)

καὶ αὐ|τὸς δὲ θαῖορος 682,18-19.(c.256/5)

καὶ τὰς ἑλ|λας δὲ 1b,60-61.

καὶ εἰς τὸ λοι|πὸν δὲ 909,17-18,(c.170,h.).

10. οὐ μόνον ... ἀλλὰ καὶ : e.g.

οὐ μόνον αὐτ[ο]ς | ὅς τοις ποιήσαντος ἀλλὰ καὶ τοις τῶν
εὐεργετῶν κατ'|δας 448,82-84,(318/7).

11. The above are the common coordinating conjunctions. There are
also the following conjunctions which are much rarer:-

a) τε : found by itself as a conjunction on 2 occasions viz,

κοιμᾶται δὲ καὶ τὸ παρὰ [ειγμὰ τ] οὐ ἐπικράνου | εἰς ἀηλ[ον]

... καὶ θήσει καθάπερ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων γέ|γραπται, ..

.... τῶι τε [ὅ] παρχιτέκτονι συντελεῖ καλ.

1678.A.11-13.(a.315.h.)

κατα|σταθεῖς δὲ καὶ γραμμοῦς ὅπ' αὐτῶν ἀπὸ | θεοξένου

ἄρχοντος οὐθεν ἐνλέλοιπεν φιλο|τιμίας συναδῶν τε δια-

τετέλεκεν κατὰ.

1329,4-7,U.(175/4).

N.B. There is 1 ex. in which τε means "also" viz.

δεδοχθαι τῷ κοινῷ τῶν οἱ [αω]τῶν· ἐπεὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα
 πράττουσιν καλῶς [κ]αὶ εὖσεβῶς κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς,
 ἀναθεῖναι [α]ὐτοὺς καὶ στήλην ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς
 Ἀρτέμι[δος] 1298,8-12,U.(247/6).

For parallels, see LSJ s.v. τε G.10,a.

b) There is 1 ex. in which τε seems to connect the leading idea of the first member with the second, although it does not appear in the part of the first member where it logically belongs:

ἐπειδὴ οἱ ταῖς [αἰ]· [τῶ]ν τῆς θεοῦ οἱ ἐπὶ ἡγεμῶ[χου]
 [ἔρ]χοντες ἐπεμελήθησαν [ὅπερ] [ρ τ]ῶν ἐπαρχῶν, ὥπως
 ἂν οἱ [ἐκκ]· [ε[τ]· τῶν τε σῖτον κομίσων [ται]· [κ]αὶ
 τοῦ δήμου τὸν ὀφειλ[όμε]· [νο]ν αὐτοῖ[ς] καὶ ἄλλα πάν [τα]
 ὅ[ν]τα τελ[ο]ῦσιν πράττοντες κατὰ. 1264,2ff,U.(300/299).

Professor Dover drew my attention to Thucydides: e.g. vi.7.3

καὶ ἐς βεθόνην τὴν ἑμπορὸν Μακεδονίαι ἐκπῆας κατὰ θύλασσαν
 κομίσαντες Ἀθηναῖοι σφῶν τε αὐτῶν καὶ Μακεδόνων τοὺς
 παρὰ σφίσι φυγάδας ἐνεκουργοῦν τὴν Περδίκκου.

On the face of it Thucydides seems to be dividing the cavalry into 2 categories, and implies that the Macedonian exiles at Athens were all cavalry. But it is also possible - and better - to defer τε to a much later point to bring out the essential feature of the coordination: thus

ἐκπῆας | σφῶν τε αὐτῶν |
 καὶ Μακεδόνων | τοὺς φυγάδας

This supposedly 'misplaced' τε occurs in Thucydides also at vi.14;
15.2; 18.1; 24.1; 63.2; 94.2.

c) 1 ex. of the Relative Pronoun used as a connective viz.

αἶψά τις ἀγαθοῦ καὶ [ρ]ῶμενος παραίτιος γίνεσθαι καὶ
ἰδεῖν καὶ κινεῖν / [φ]ιλύγαθος δ[ν] ἐμ παντὶ κατρώει· δε
γούν κροτεῖ | μηροῖς κτλ. 1326.6-9.υ. (176/5).

B. Subordinating Conjunctions:

1. Conditional:

εἰν : this is by far the commonest conjunction: e.g.

εἰν τις εὖ ποιήσει 448.82. (318/7)

εἰν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδόμι τὴν μίσθοσιν ἐ [ν] τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς
γεγραμμένοις ἢ μὴ [ε]ργάζηται τὸ χῶριον κατὰ τὰ
γεγραμμέ [ν] α, 1241.33-36.π. (300/299).

For Present and Aorist Subjunctive, see IV.A.2.c.(iii) above.

εἰ : a few exx. viz.

ἀλλήν | εἰ καὶ αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσιν νόμιμόν ἐστ | εν εἰσελθεῖν,
ἔλλοι δὲ μὴ. 1214.15-17.υ. (300-250.π)

εἰ ἀφροσύνησιν κατὰ τ[α] αὐτά, 1165.21-22.υ. (300-250.π)

εἰ τ[α] [ε] | [ε]λλο. ἐστὲν ἀργυροῦν 839.30-31. (221/0)

εἰ καὶ λάφυρον ἀποδεδόσται 844.13. (193/2).

εἰ seems to imply that the contingency actually exists, whereas εἰν
is used when the contingency may never happen.

Note how the postpositives come immediately after αἰ : see VIII, A, 4 and 5 below.

2. Consecutive:

ὥστε : e.g.,

ὥστε μήτε τὴν ἐαυ[τοῦ πατρ] | ἴδε μήτε τὴν ἑλλήν· ἐλλάττω
ἴδεν δουλεύουσιν. 448.55-56. (318/7)

ὥστε ἔλατ[το] ρεῦσαι καὶ συνδιδάσκειν μετ' αὐτῆς τὸν
δουλοῦτον. 1328.24-25. D. (175/4).

3. Final:

Early in the period ὥς αὖ is practically the sole way of introducing a Final Clause; gradually it gives way before ὥς without αὖ and ἔντα without αὖ (see the Table overleaf for the frequency of these 3 conjunctions): e.g.,

ὥς αὖ :

ὥς αὖ καὶ οἱ ἑλλ[οι πάντες][ς] φιλοτιμῶνται ποιεῖν
ἀγ[αθόν]. H. IX. 345.44, 40-41. (319/8)

ὥς δ' αὖ καὶ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς πρὸς | τὸν
[δ]ῆμον εὐνοίας. 908.17-18. (b, 181-170. h.).

ὥς : the earliest exx. are

ὥς οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλή[ς]. 1534. B. 146. (247/6)

τὰ δοῦναι ὥς γένῃ· ἐφρόντιο[ν]. 834.18. (pp. 229. h.)

For the curious metrical effect of this latter ex., see PH. I. E. 3.

ἔντα : the earliest exx. are

ἔντα εἰδοῖ[σιν]. 1316.18. D. (272/1)

ἔντα τιμῆσθαι κατὰ τὴν [ἀρίστην]. 1534. B. 160. (247/6).

		323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
δραως ἐν	DC	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
	1	12	6	16	2	4	1	4	3	2	6	2	2	1	-
	2	4	-	2	-	2	1	1	4	-	2	-	-	2	-
	T	16	6	18	2	6	2	5	7	2	8	2	2	3	-
	a	5	-	2	6	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
	3b	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁴	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹²	-	-
δραως	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	4	3	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	T	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	2	4	3	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ¹¹	-
ἐν	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	5	-	-
	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-
	T	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	3	-	-	3	5	-	-
	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁶	-	-	-	2 ¹²	2 ⁹	-

N.B.1. Before 323 BC δραως ἐν is almost the sole way of introducing Final Clauses. There are only 2 exceptions viz.

ἦνα μὲ ἡμίονοι διε/λαύνοντα. I².81.12-13. (421/0)

ὅπως "Αρ[όρεα]|| ε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ [κομῆ]|| σονται τὴν
 ὄρχην 226.42-44.(c.343/2).

2. After 146 BC there are several exx. of ὅπως and a very few exx. of ὅπως ἔν down to the end of the second century. The usual conjunction is ἔνε without ἔν.

4. Declarative:

ὅτι and not ὅς is used: e.g.

γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι
 δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ (formula) e.g. 500.24-26.(302/1)
 ὅπως ἂν οὖν εἰ[|δῶσιν ἅπαντ]ος ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων
 εὐχέλριστος ὢν δια[|τελεῖ το]ῖς εἰς ἑαυτὸν φιλοτιμ-
 ουμένοις 909.8-10.(c.170.h.).

5. Causal:

ὅπειδῃ is virtually always the conjunction used at the beginning of the "whereas"-clause which comes immediately after the prescript and before the various provisions of the Decree e.g.

ὅπειδῃ εἰκώ|ν Ἀβυθηνός ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου| εὖνους ὢν
 διατελεῖ τῷ δήμῳ εὖ|ι Ἀθηναίων 493.12ff.(303/2).

But on one occasion alone I find ὅπερ viz.

ὅπερ τὰ τε ἄλλα πράττουσιν καλῶς| [κ]αὶ εὖσε| ὅς τε καὶ
 τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀναθεῖναι καλ. 1298.9-10.U.(247/6)

and on another occasion I find ὅτι viz.

δεδοχθαι τ|ῷ δήμῳ Ἀσανόρον ἡγέων|ος Μαιέδονα ἐκαινέσαι

ὅτε | ἡ δότιν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καλ. 450.a.10-13.(314/3).

This latter ex. is somewhat unusual, in that, unlike all other exx. of this formula, the reasons for the praise come after, and not before, the decision to praise. But cf.

]στεφανῶσαι ἐκ[]τον αὐτῶν χρυσ[](ὡς στ)εφάνωι [κατ]ὰ [τ]ὸν
[ν]όμον, ἐπειδὴ δι|[καί]ω]ς ἄρχοντες [τ]ὸ [ς εὖ] εὖ [ν]α
δεδώκασι |[]ιν 488.2-5.(304/3).

where the ἐπειδὴ- clause comes after the provision στεφανῶσαι.

Apart from these "whereas"-clauses there is only 1 ex. of a Causal Clause viz.

κατέγνωσαν οἱ | δικάσταί, ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεβίβου τὰ ξύλινα
σκεῦη| 1631.355-356.(323/2).

6. Temporal:

a) with Indicative:

ὅτε : only 1 ex. viz.

καὶ συναποστολεῖς ὅτε ὁ βασιλ|εὺς Ἀντίγονος ἀπέστειλεν
τὸν ὅδον 498.b.15-16.(303/2.h.).

ἡνέκα : only 1 ex., in verse viz.

ἡνέκα Μουνιχίας ὑπὸ πείχεσι ... | ... πνεῦμα ἔλειπε
G.40.5-6.(287/6).

b) with Subjunctive:

ὅταν : e.g.

ὅταν δέωνται 505.59.(302/1)

ὅταν δὲ ὁ χρόνος βέλῃ | αὐτῶν τῆς δεκαετίας
2499.11-12.u.(306/5).

ἐπειδὴν : e.g.

ἐπε[ιδά]ν δ' ἐπισκευα/σθεῖ 380.28-29.(320/19)

ἐπ[ειδάν] τὰ ἱερὰ ἀπαγγεῖλαι καὶ σπονδὰς ποιῆ[σ]αι [σ] ἐν
1297.12-14.υ.(237/6).

ἐπὶ δὲν : only 1 ex. viz.

ἐπὶ δὲν καταβάλλουσιν τὸ ἐπιβάλλο[ν] αὐτοῖς τοῦ ὑπάρχοντος
ἀργυρίου 1298.18-19.υ.(247/6).

ἕως ἄν : e.g.

ἕως ἄν ἐπιτελέσῃ τὸ ἔργον 1678.A.14.(a.315.h.)

* ἕως ἄν ἀποσπᾷ διέλθουσιν 1328.18.υ.(183/2).

(*For ε > ες before α, see PH.II.A.6.a.(i).)

c) with Infinitive:

πρίν : only 1 ex. viz.

πρίν πολιτικοῦτάφοι | ο χρόνου γῆρας προστεκῆσθαι
G.1821.3.P.(s.ii.ii.).

7. Comparative:

a) with Indicative:

καθάπερ : e.g.

καθάπερ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσετο 448.70.(318/7)

καθάπερ γέγραπται 1273.22.υ.(281/0)

and with the verb understood:~

τὸ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ

(formula) e.g. 373.22.(322/1)

καθάπερ καὶ πάλιν ὅπερ | ἐλήμμετο 1273.25-26.υ.(281/0).

καθό : only 1 ex. viz.

κ]αθδ. [αδ][τοδ ρ]ο [ύλ]ονται 505.46-47.(302/1).

καθώς : only 1 ex. viz.

καθώς καὶ προεῖς[η] | κται 1326.31-32.U.(176/5).

καθότι : only 1 ex. viz.

καθότι βλαστός δυνατός ἐστίν 1322.8.U.(p.179.s.).

ὡς : e.g.

οὕ | μα ὡς ἡδύνατο κάλλιστον 896.11-12.(186/5)

ὡς ἡδυνήθησαν | φιλοτιμότητα 1320.3-4.U.(p.245.s.).

cf. ὡσανεῖ : only 1 ex. viz.

καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις δὲ [πῦσιν διετέλει] | φροντίζων τῆς
κόλασος ὡσανεῖ ὑπὲρ[ρ τῆς πατρίδος] .

786.13-14.(pp.229/8.h.).

b) with Subjunctive:

καθότι ἂν : e.g.

καθότι ἂν δύνηται 653.48.(285/4)

καθότι ἂν δο | κεῖ τῶι κοινῶι 1275.16-17.U.(in.s.iii.π.).

ὡς ἂν : e.g.

ὡς | ἂν δύνωνται κάλλιστον 839.33-34.(221/0)

cf. κα [ε] διαλ [ε] | χθεῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν κοινῶν χρησέμεν μετ [α]

παρ(ρ)η | σίας ὡς ἂν ὑπὲρ ἰδωγδο ς τὴν κῶσαν σπου | ὅην

κοιόμενος II.IV.525.39.19-22.(226/5)

The end of line 21 is cut in an erasure. The form ἰδωγδος is corrupt; a pi. once stood where the second delta now stands, and a tau where the sigma is now cut. Professor Dover suggests that the intended word may have been ἰδιοπραγίας or ἰδίου πράγματος .

(* For ρρ > ρ, see PH.II.A.4.b.(iii).

For ου > υ, see PH.I.A.2.g.(ii).)

8. Local:

a) with Indicative:

οὗ : "whither", only 1 ex. viz.

ἀπέστειλεν οὗ ἕκαστοι ἥβ[ο]ύλοντο 657.25.(283/2).

οὗ : "where", e.g.

καρδεύειν Λιόγνητον τ| ἢν οικίαν, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔστιν,

ἀνσωγ|μὸν 2499.26-28.U.(306/5)

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ προσδρίαν ἐν τῷ | θεάτρῳ, ..|...

οὗ καὶ αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσι κατανέμ|εται

1214.19-22.U.(300-250.*).

ὅπου : only 1 ex. viz.

ἀνατέθηκε τῷ θεῷ τὰς αἰμασιὰς ὅπου ὁ λύκος ἔστιν

1322.17.U.(p.179.s.).

b) with Subjunctive:

οὗ ἢν : e.g.

κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς | τὴν θέαν δεῖ οὗ ἢν καὶ τοῖς

ἀτραπη[γ]|οῖς κατανέμῃται 500.34-36.(302/1)

στῆσαι οὗ ἢν αὐτὸς αἰρῇται

S.XV.111.15.U.(229/8.*).

ὅπου ἢν : only 1 ex. viz.

στῆσαι ..|.. ἐν ἀγορῇ ὅπου ἢν βούλη|ται

450.b.8-11.(314/3).

VII. Numerals.

There are the following exx. of compound numerals:-

A. Smaller number first with καί :

τέτταρα καὶ δέκα	1680.2. (f.s. iv. x)
εἰς ἕνα καὶ [ϛ] δικοστίας	980.17. (p. 245. s.)
εἰς ἕνα καὶ πεντακο[σίους]	856.4. (p. 245. s.)
ἀπὸ πάντε καὶ δέκα δρα[χμῶν]	839.46-47. (221/0)
εἰς ἕνα καὶ πεντακοσίους δικοστίας,	850.18-19. (197/6).

B. Larger number first with καί :

τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα	847.26. (215/4)
μετρητάς χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους	903.7. (e. 176/5).

C. Larger number first without καί :

δραχμαὶ δέκα δακτῶ	1534.B.259. (247/6)
ὕπερ τὰς δικοστίας ἑξακοσίας ὀνενήκοντα δραχμῶς	956.19. (161/0)
ὕπερ τὰς τρισ[χίλ]ας [ϛ]ριακοσίας ἑνε[ν]ήκοντα δραχμῶς	958.15-16. (154/3).

VIII. Word Order.

I propose to deal with Word Order under 6 headings viz.

A. Postpositives

B. Words which are not postpositives, and certain phrases

C. Clauses

D. Prescripts of Decrees

E. Provisions of Decrees

F. Sepulchral Formulae.

A. Postpositives:

1. ὅτι

a) Final Clauses:

As I have shown in the section on Coordination (see VI.B.3 above), Final Clauses are introduced by ὅπως ὅτι, ὅπως and ὅτι. Here I am concerned only with those which have ὅτι. I also wish to consider what effect ὅτι and ὅτι have if they too occur.

(i) It is clear - and important to remember - that ὅπως ὅτι is treated as one word and not two. In clauses without ὅτι or ὅτι, there are 51 exx. of ὅτι coming immediately after ὅπως, and no ex. of intervening words: e.g.

ὅπως ὅτι καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι [οἱ πάντες] φιλοτιμῶνται ποιεῖν

ὅτι [ὅτι]

H.IX.345.44.40-41. (319/8)

ὅπως ὅτι οἱ γεγενημένοι ἔχουσιν τὴν ἀσφάλειαν

S.XV.113.6-7.U. (215/4).

(ii) When ὅτι appears, there are 38 exx. of ὅπως ὅτι ὅτι.

and only 1 ex. of *ὅπως οὖν ἔν*: e.g.,

ὅπως ἔν οὖν ἀποσιν ἦε φανερόν 505.41.(302/1)

ὅπως ἔν οὖν ἐφάμιλλον εἴ πασι | S.XV.113.16.U.(215/4).

But cf.,

ὅπως οὖν ἔν φ[ανεροί] ἔσιν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι | *τιμῶντες*
652.14-15.(c.286/5).

This lone exception may well be a slip, although support for its word order may perhaps be forthcoming below where I consider exx. with *ὅς*.

Note that the restoration *καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι* is almost certainly wrong since *Ἀθηναῖοι* never has the Article (see III.B.2.a. above.) It would be better to read *πασι* instead of *καὶ οἱ*.

(iii) There are 7 exx. of *ὅπως ὅς ἔν* viz.,

ὅπως ὅς ἔν καὶ εἰς τὸ [ν] λο[γισ]ν χρόνον | *ὡς βέλτισ [τα]*
ἦε [κα]τ[ε]ρευνασ[α]ν ἔ[ν]α 380.34-35.(320/19)

ὅπως | *ὅς ἔν πάντες εἰδῶσι* 448.16-17.(318/7)

ὅπως ὅς [ἔν κα]τ[ε] τὸ σύνολο πύρια ἦ |
466.b.32-33.(307/6.h.)

ὅπως ὅς ἔν τε στέφανος ἀγορεύ[ου]σιν
555.16-17.(b.307/6-303/2.h.)

ὅπως ὅς ἔν ἐφάμιλλον εἴ τοῖς ἀεὶ ποιηταῖς | *[ν]οῖς*
επιτηδάρχαις S.XV.112.19-20.U.(225/4)

ὅπως ὅς ἔν καὶ ἀπόμνημα ἀναρχεῖ αὐτῷ
908.17.(b.181-170.h.); 909.19.(c.170.h.).

These exx. are sufficient to show that *ὅς* is capable of breaking up a close-knit combination like *ὅπως ἔν*, in order to get into

second position in the clause.

There are also 5 exx. of *ὅπως ἂν* *οὕτως* viz.

ὅπως ἂν *οὕτως* καὶ εἰδῆτε ὅτι ποιεῖτε 653.42.(285/4)

ὅπως ἂν *οὕτως* καὶ ὑπομνηματίζετε 1b.50.

ὅπως ἂν *οὕτως* καὶ τὰ Χάλκεα θύσωσιν 674.16.(273/2)

ὅπως ἂν *οὕτως* εἰδῶσιν ἄλλοι 1299.25.U.(pp.236/5)

ὅπως ἂν *οὕτως* εἰδῶσιν οἱ παραγινόμενοι 1b.43.

It will be seen at once that in the first 3 of these exx. there is an Adverbial *καὶ* phrase immediately following *οὕτως*. I would suggest that the frequency of *οὕτως καὶ* in *ὅπως*-clauses as a connective, plus the fact that *ὅπως ἂν* tends to be uninterrupted, has led to this word order. In the other 2 exx. the governing factor is simply that *ὅπως ἂν* is being treated as an indissoluble unit.

It must not, however, be forgotten that in the former group of exx. there are 4 exx. with Adverbial *καὶ*, where the *οὕτως* does not go with it but breaks up *ὅπως ἂν*.

(iv) There are only 3 exx. with a negative, and this appears immediately after *ὅπως ἂν*:

ὅπως ἂν [μ]ηδ' ὅφ' ἐνδὲ ἀδικῶνται 505.57-58.(302/1)

ὅπως ἂν μηδὲν ἀδικημάτων γίνηται 1225.10.U.(c.250.h.).

cf. *ὅπως* ἂν καὶ ἐκαστὸν τῶν [δ] ἡμῶν ἢ τοῦ φιλέ [α π] αὐτὸ
ἢ εἰρήνην διατηρή|ται καὶ μηδ' ὅ [φ] ἐνδὲ περι[δ]καμμένη
ἢ πόλις [δ] ποικιλοποθεῖ εἰς | τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐδοκμονίαν
1304.6-8.U.(pp.211/10)

where the negative appears immediately after the conjunction.

b) Indefinite Clauses:

(i) In clauses without $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\zeta\eta$ always comes second, and always forms a single word with $\delta\tau\epsilon$: e.g.

$\tau[\mu]\acute{\omicron}\pi\omega\iota \delta\tau\epsilon \zeta\eta \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\omega\nu [\tau\alpha]\iota.$	380.27-28. (320/19)
$\delta\kappa\omicron\nu \acute{\alpha}\mu\ \rho\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\tau\alpha\iota$	450.b.10-11. (314/3)
$\delta\tau\epsilon \zeta\eta \delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$	477.14. (305/4.h.)
$\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \zeta\eta \eta \kappa\omicron\lambda\iota\varsigma \tau\iota\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}.$	500.33. (302/1)
$\delta\tau\omicron\nu \kappa\alpha\acute{\iota} \delta\epsilon \kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu \delta\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$	850.17-18. (197/6)
$\delta\tau\omicron\nu \zeta\eta \phi\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\xi\iota\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\iota.$	844.70. (193/2).

(ii) In clauses with $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$, $\zeta\eta$ moves down to third position, unless it is able to form a single word with the first word: e.g.

$\delta\omicron\alpha \delta' \zeta\eta \tau\epsilon [\epsilon\pi\omicron\nu\eta]\kappa\acute{\omicron}\tau\alpha$	463.54-55. (307/6)
$\delta\tau\epsilon \delta' \zeta\eta \acute{\alpha}\nu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\omega\mu\alpha \gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\tau\alpha\iota$	1163.26-27.u. (284/3)
$\delta\tau\epsilon \delta' \zeta\eta \delta\iota\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\rho\omicron\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon \tau\acute{\omega}\iota \delta\acute{\eta}\mu\omega\iota \delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\epsilon\iota,$	674.19. (273/2)
$\acute{\alpha} \delta\acute{\epsilon} \zeta\eta \delta\iota\kappa\omicron\nu\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\omega\sigma\iota\nu,$	839.40-41. (221/0).

(* For the form of the Subjunctive, see NO.II.A.1.)

But cf.

$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon [\iota\delta\acute{\alpha}] \nu \delta' \acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\alpha \sigma\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}$	380.28-29. (320/19)
$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} [\delta] \omicron \rho\iota\iota \mu\alpha\sigma\theta\acute{\omega}\sigma\iota\nu,$	1678.A.3. (a.315.h.)
$\acute{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\acute{\omicron}\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \sigma\upsilon\gamma\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha \zeta\eta \kappa\acute{\alpha}\nu\tau\alpha$	1b.A.8.
$\delta\tau\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \delta \chi\rho\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma \acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\eta\iota \alpha\delta\tau\acute{\omega}\iota \tau\acute{\eta}\varsigma \delta\epsilon\mu\alpha\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma,$	2499.11-12.u. (306/5)
$\delta\tau\omicron\nu \delta\acute{\epsilon} \delta\omicron\upsilon\omega\sigma\iota\nu \omicron\iota \delta\rho\gamma\epsilon\acute{\omega}\nu\epsilon\varsigma \tau\acute{\omega}\iota \eta\rho\omega\iota$	1b.24-25.

ἐπειδὴν δὲ κυρώσῃ τὸν νόμον οὗ οἰασθεῖται

1275.12-13.0.(in.s.iii.π)

ὅταν δὲ θῶσιν αὐτὸν οὐσείαι

1283.20.0.(263/2).

2. Anaphoric αὐτόν.

It will be seen from the exx. which I will quote below that the oblique cases of αὐτός in the anaphoric sense tend to come early in their clause, and never later than the position immediately after the governing verb.

The exx. are considered under a few recognizable categories:-

a) Relative Clauses:

(i) Relative Pronoun: αὐτός : — : e.g.

ὅσα αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος προσέταττον,

500.16-17.(302/1)

ὃν αὐτῷ οὗ τ[ε] νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα προστάτ[ου]σιν

1163.10-12.0.(284/3).

ὃν αὐτοῖς προσέταττον οὗ τε νόμο[ι] καὶ τ[ὰ]

ψηφίσματα

790.21-22.(235/4)

ἐφ' οὗ αὐτὸν κατέστησεν ὁ δῆμος

II.V.422.15.12.(196/5).

ὅσας αὐτῷ προσήκειν

668.11-12.(266/5).

(ii) Relative Pronoun: Verb : αὐτός : — : e.g.

ὅς [α] προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος

373.24-25.(322/1)

αἷς ἐπέμνησεν αὐτὸν ὁ ὅ[δημος] | ς 448.65-66.(318/7)
 ὅου περὶγγελλον αὐτῷ οἱ ἐπὶ τοῦ [του] | τεταγμένοι
 S.XV.112.6-7.U.(225/4).

ὅου ἐπετά[χθη] αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν |
 554.16-17.(c.306/5.h.)

ὅου καθήκον αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ ἐνταυ[τῷ]
 847.13-14.(215/4)

ὧν καθήκειν αὐτοῖς* 896.38.(186/5).

(iii) Relative Pronoun: Subject: Verb: αὐτ- : only 1 ex. viz.

τὴν π[ολιτείαν] ἣν ὁ ὅ[δημος] | ς ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κα[ὶ]
 391.8-9.(b.321/0-319/8).

b) Genitive Absolute:

αὐτ- comes immediately after the Participle: e.g.

[καὶ τε] | μέσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ ὅ[δημου]
 448.56-57.(318/7)

καὶ ἐπὶ [κοροῖβου ἄρχοντος] | παραισάξαντος αὐτοῦς
 ἡγή[σίου] 505.30-31.(302/1)

προσπαγόντων αὐτὸν τῶν στρατηγῶν
 844.55.(193/2).

c) Imperativial Infinitives:

(i) εἶναι : ὅς : αὐτ- : Subject : e.g.

εἶναι ὅς αὐτῷ καὶ ἐγγόνο[ις γῆς καὶ] | [οἱ] κῆρας ἐγασθῶν
 373.29-30.(322/1)

εἶναι δ' αὐτοῖς καὶ προσεθρίων

500.31-32.(302/1); 665.22-23.(266/5)

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ δτελεῖαν S.XV.112.26.U.(225/4).

cf. ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἔγκ[τησιν

835.26.(pp.229.h.)

δίδωσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ | καὶ πολιτεῖαν 350.14-15.(197/6).

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ [δδ]ντι τὰς ε[θούνας τῆς ἐ]|κιμελείας

κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου

780.20-21.(252/1).

(11) καὶ : εἶναι : αὐτ- : Subject : e.g.

καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ κυρίας τὰ[ς] ὁπερὲς 448.15.(318/7)

καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς πρόσσοθον 16.75-76; 505.58.(302/1)

καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ σέτῃσιν ὅν προτανεῖωι

657.64.(283/2).

There is 1 apparent exception to (i) and (ii) viz.

εἶναι δὲ | καὶ τὰς λοιπὰς τὰς ἐψηφισμένους τιμὰς αὐτῷ
κυρίας 844.42-43.(193/2).

But there are 2 reasons for this word order:-

1. Adverbial καὶ phrases tend to come as early as possible (see B.3 below).

2. There is a close connection between αὐτῷ and ἐψηφισμένους.

(iii) Imperativial Infinitive: $\delta\delta$: $\alpha\delta\tau$: Subject: e.g.

$\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\delta\delta$ $\alpha\delta\tau$ [εν] καὶ [τὴν β] οὐλ[ήν· τῇ][ν] $\delta\delta$
 $\rho\omicron\upsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς,

505.56-57. (302/1)

$\delta\omicron\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota$ $\delta\delta$ $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ | [τὸν ἐπ] ἔ τεῖ διοικῆσαι

488.17-18. (304/3) .

One even finds

$\sigma\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\delta\delta$ $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ τὸν ὄημον καὶ | $\epsilon\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\nu\alpha$

682.80-81. (c.256/5)

$\lambda\upsilon\alpha\theta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota$ $\delta\delta$ $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ καὶ $\epsilon\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\nu\alpha$ ἐμ πένοντι ἐν τῷ | ναυί

1327.24-25. v. (178/7)

where $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is possessive and really belongs with $\epsilon\lambda\iota\delta\omicron\nu\alpha$.

(iv) Exx. where $\alpha\delta\tau$ is the Subject of the Imperativial Infinitive:

1. Object: Infinitive: $\alpha\delta\tau$:

τὰ λὸ [ι] καὶ χρήμ[ατα κατ]α[βῶ] λλεῖν α| $\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ πρὸς [το] $\upsilon\varsigma$
 $[\delta\delta]$ λὸθ [έ]τας

380.32-33. (320/19)

2. καὶ : Object: $\alpha\delta\tau$: Infinitive:

καὶ τὰ [ε εἰσφ][ορεύς] $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ εἰσφέρειν μετ' Ἀθηναίων.

505.53-54. (302/1) .

3. καὶ : εἶναι : $\alpha\delta\tau$: e.g.

καὶ εἶναι $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\nu$ Ἀθ[ηναί] [των καὶ ἐκγῶ] νους $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\upsilon$

495.22-23. (303/2) .

4. εἶναι : $\delta\delta$: $\alpha\delta\tau$: e.g.

εἶναι δ [δ] $\alpha\delta\tau\omicron\nu$ καὶ πρόξενον καὶ εὐ|εργέ[τη]ν

908.14-15. (b.181-170.h.)

εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ προξενον Ἀθηναίων

947.3.(166/5.gr.).

(v) Exx. where αὐτ- is the Object of the Imperative Infinitive:

1. Infinitive : αὐτ- : e.g.

ἐποιεν[ε]/[υ] αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς ἐνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας[ς]

495.17-18.(303/2).

2. καὶ : Infinitive: αὐτ- : e.g.

καὶ στεφ] ἀνῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι [

456.b.8-9.(307/6)

καὶ καλέ]σαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον 1b.26-27.

καὶ στηῖσαι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ | τ[ε] ἐνεῖ 908.19-20.(b.181-170.h.).

There are, of course, many variations on the στεφανῶσαι and στηῖσαι themes, but all follow this basic pattern.

Cf. also:

στε]φανωσάτω αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμ[ος]

556.12.(c.305.x).

3. Infinitive: δὲ : αὐτ- : e.g.

καλέσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

H.IV.525.39.44.(226/5).

(vi) Subject: δὲ : Infinitive: αὐτ- : Object: e.g.

τὸν ὅ[ς] ἀρχιτέκτονα κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς | τὴν οἶον

500.33-35.(302/1)

τοὺς δὲ θεομοθέτας εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτ[ῶ]ι τὴν δοκιμασίαν

682.96-97.(c.256/5).

cf. καὶ : Subject: Infinitive: αὐτ- : Object: e.g.

καὶ τοὺς θεομοθέτας [τ]οὺς ἐπὶ Νικαιαίους ἄρχοντας

προ[γ]|ράψει αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν 507.14-16.(c.302/1).

d) With other Postpositives:

(i) With ἔν and τις : e.g.

καθότι ἔν αὐτῷ κ[α]ραγγέλλεται, 503.11.(302/1)

καὶ ὁ ἔν τις αὐτὸν | παρακαλεῖ 1304.b.7-8.u.(269/8)..

Of. also:

καθότι ἔν ἕκαστος αὐτὸν παρακαλεῖ | 657.30-31.(283/2).

In this ex. it appears as if ἕκαστος has precedence over αὐτὸν, but this phrasing has probably been influenced by ἕκαστος αὐτῶν which I discuss below (see B.2.).

ἔάν τις εἴ ποῖται αὐτὸν 448.82.(318/7)

ὅταν δὲ ὁ χρόνος δείξει | αὐτῷ τῆς δεκαετίας
2499.11-12.u.(306/5)

ὅπως δ' ἔν καὶ ὑπόμνημα ὑπάρχει αὐτῷ περὶ κτλ.

908.17.(b.181-170.h.); 909.19-20.(c.170.h.).

It is clear that, except in Comparative Clauses – where αὐτ- comes immediately after ἔν, although displaced by τις –, αὐτ- tends to come after the verb.

(ii) With πώποτε : only 1 ex. viz.

ὅσα πώποτε αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [προ]|[σ]ετέχθη
505.39-40.(302/1).

e) In clauses with Prepositional Phrases:

(i) καί : Prep. Phrase: αὐτ- : Subject: Verb: e.g.

[καί] οἱ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτὸν ο[ἱ] 379.5.(321/0 or 318/7).

καί οἱ δὲ τα[ύτα] αὐτοῦς ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμος]

ἔσπευον [γ]ῶσαν * 656.7-9.(284/3)

καί οἱ δὲ ταῦτα αὐτὸν καὶ πρότερον ὁ δ[ῆμος] ἐπήνεσεν

H.VII.100.18.17-18.(282/1).

(* For σ > σσ before τ, see PH.II.B.6.a.(i).)

(ii) καί : Prep. Phrase: Predicate: αὐτ- : Subject: Verb: only 1 ex. viz.

καί ὁ [οἱ] δὲ ταῦ [τα] π[άντα] πολίτην αὐτ[ὸν] ὁ δ[ῆμος]

ἐπὶ [σε, 492.16-17.(303/2.h.).

Unlike the exx. in (i) where αὐτ- comes immediately after the prepositional phrase, αὐτὸν is here displaced by πολίτην.

The reason is because there is, as it were, a pause after πάντα and so αὐτὸν actually does occupy second place in its phrase.

(iii) καί : Prep. Phrase: Verb: αὐτ- : Subject: e.g.

καί οἱ δὲ ταῦτα ἐπήνεσαν τ[ὸν] αὐτοῦς πολλὰκις ἡ βουλή

καὶ ὁ δ[ῆμ]ος καὶ ἐσπεύοντες ἕκαστον αὐτῶν |

500.17-19.(302/1)

καὶ ὑπὲρ τούτων π[άν]των πολλὰκις μεμαρτύρηεν αὐτῷ.

ὁ βασιλεὺς 657.36-37.(283/2).

f) Problems:

There are 2 problem exx. which do not fit in with the patterns illustrated above:-

ἀναγορεύεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς σ|τεφάνους αὐτοῖς καὶ

τὸν ἑκατον

1277.24-25.U.(278/7)

This is an unusual formulation of a common formula, unusual in 2 respects: firstly, it has the Present Infinitive Passive instead of the normal Aorist Infinitive Active ἀναγορεύσαι or ἀνελκεῖν ; and secondly, it contains αὐτοῖς. But it may concur with the usual formula in that one always finds ἀναγορεύσαι/ἀνελκεῖν τὸν στέφανον with nothing intervening between the Infinitive and its Object.

Perhaps, then, this is why τοὺς στεφάνους displaces αὐτοῖς.

ἀναθεῖναι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα ἐμ πίνανι ἐν τῷ | ναοῖ

καὶ στεφανοῦν καὶ ἑκάστην θυρίαν αὐτόν.

1327.24-25.U.(178/7)

I have already commented on the first part of this ex. (see c.(iii) above). It is the second part which is the problem here. However, I think that the prepositional phrase may be the key to the solution. In section e) above I quoted several exx. with prepositional phrases, in all of which the prepositional phrase comes before αὐτ- . So here in an imperatival infinitive construction αὐτόν has been displaced from its usual position after the infinitive.

g) Possessive αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς, αὐτῶν :

(i) Possessive αὐτ- normally takes the predicative position and

comes after the articular-noun complex: e.g.,

τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν

H.IX.104.20.24.(302/1)

τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ

945.9.(168/7).

Contrast the following ex. in which αὐτοῦ is emphasizing and balancing τῶν προγόνων :

[καὶ τι]| μῆσαντος αὐτὸν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ [τεῖαι]|
καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς αἷς προσήκει τοὺς εὐε[ργέτας]|
καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ ἐγγόνους διὰ τε τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρε[τὴν καὶ]|
διὰ τὰς τῶν προγόνων εὐεργεσίας, ἀφείλοντο κτλ.

448.56ff.(318/7).

(ii) As I remarked above - see c.(iii) - in the formula στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα, αὐτοῦ occupies its usual early place in the clause as in so many of these formulae, even although it is in this instance possessive. For further exx. see: 646.37.(295/4.)*; 653.40.(285/4); 654.57.(285/4); 657.63.(283/2); 844.26.(193/2).

Cf. also

ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο ἀναθεῖναι αὐτοῦ εἰκόνα

844.36.(193/2)

in which αὐτοῦ comes in the second position of its phrase, i.e. after ἀναθεῖναι.

3. τε.

In the coordination τε... καὶ:

a) joining 2 nouns: τε stands between the Article and the Noun of the first member, unless the coordinated members are governed by a pre -

position, in which case τε comes immediately after the preposition:
e.g.

ἐν οἷ οἱ τε [στέ] φανοὶ καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα ἀνογραφῇ [σ] ἐστὶ
1262.10-12.υ. (301/300).

ἀρχαὶ τῶν τε ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ [λαβίων].
958.10. (154/3).

πρὸς τε τοῖς νῦν ἡδικοιότας καὶ παρεσπον|διότας
687.32-33. (268/7)

ἐν τε τῷ ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδώρου καὶ | Προξενίδου ἐνταυτῷ.
H.V.422.15.14-15. (196/5).

Cf. the following ex. in which a pronoun is coordinated with a noun:

ὅπερ τε αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν σωμάτων 772.12. (268/7).

b) joining 2 verbs with the same Object: τε comes immediately after the first verb: e.g.

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐπήνεσαν τ|ε αὐτοὺς πολλὰκις ἡ βουλὴ
καὶ ὁ δῆμ|ος καὶ ἐστεφάνωσεν ἑκάστον αὐτῶν|
500.17-19. (302/1).

c) joining 2 verbs with different Objects: τε comes between the Article and noun of the first Object: e.g.

τάς τε πατρίο| [υς θυσίας] εἰσεν τοῖς θεοῖς ὅπερ τοῦ
δῆμου καὶ τῇ| [ν...θ...] ν ἔδωκεν πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις
657.40-42. (283/2)

τάς τε θυσίας τὰς καθηκούσας [ἔθυσαν] ὡς καλῶς καὶ
φιλοτίμως καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐπιμετέλην[ται].

674.11-12.(273/2)

Cf. the following ex. with different Indirect Objects:

ἐξ ὧν ἑαυτοῖς τε δόξαν ἐκτίθοντο καὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[ο]ις |

ἑλλησιν παρεσιεύσαν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν.

687.12-13.(265/4).

d) joining 2 clauses, where the real coordination is between the Subject of the first and the Object of the second:—

νῦν δὲ ἐπειδὴ ὁ τε δῆμος [κατέλ] | ἥλυθε καὶ τοὺς νόμους

καὶ τὴν δημοκρατίαν ἀ[πελ] | ἔφερε

448.62-64.(318/7)

Here the 2 facts coordinated are (i) the δῆμος has been restored; (ii) the laws and democracy have been recovered. But it is put in the form: "since the δῆμος has been restored and has recovered the laws and democracy".

e) joining 2 Adverbs: τε comes immediately after the first Adverb:

ἰδ[ε]σθαι | τε περὶ Ἀθηναίους τοὺς ἀφικνουμένους εἰς τὴν

χώρα | ν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ κοινεῖ κτλ.

450.a.13-16.(314/3)

ἰδ[ε]σθαι τ | ε εὖ ποιῶν διατελεῖ καὶ δημοσίαι | πράττων

ἀγαθῶν

493.16-18.(303/2)

κοινεῖ τε τῷ δήμῳ καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὸν τοῖς ἀφικνουμέ[νοις]

891.6-7.(188/7.gr.).

(* For ἰδοὺν , see PH.II.C.3.)

cf. also:

ἔπει [δὴ δ]ὲ οἱ ἐπιμελεῖται [τ]ῶν μυστηρίων πρότερόν |
[τε] ἐν τεῖ θυσ [εἶ]αι τῶν μεγάλων μυστηρίων ἐπεμ- |
[ελή]θ[η]σαν τῆς θυσίας καὶ νῦν τεθύκασιν

661.19-22.(267/6).

f) - : τε καὶ : - : only 2 exx. viz.

πρότε|ρόν τε καὶ νῦν 1191.24-25.U.(321/0)

τιμῶντες τοὺς | ὄντας εὖνους τε καὶ ἀξίους ἑαυτῶν.

1235.10-11.U.(c.248/7).

4. τις.

a) τις comes early in its clause, but never displaces ὅς : e.g.

ἐὰν ὅς τις εἰσφορὰ γ [εἶ]γνηται 2498.7-8.U.(321/0)

ἐ[ὰ]ν ὅς τι πτωματίζει 463.47.(307/6).

b) τις always comes immediately after ἄν (not counting ὅς), and before anaphoric αὐτόν : e.g.

καὶ ἄν τι ἐγ|λείπει 2499.16-17.U.(306/5)

καθ' ὃ ἄν τις αὐτόν | παρακαλεῖ 1304.b.7-8.U.(269/8)

εἰς ὃ ἄν τις αὐτόν [παρακαλεῖ 1309.b.12.U.(p.221.s.).

c) τις comes after που : only 1 ex. viz.

εἰ πού τί ἐστίν, 2498.16.U.(321/0).

d) Verse inscrr.: word order is to a large extent determined by metrical considerations; nevertheless, one does see the familiar patterns for postpositives: e.g.

εἰ τις ὅπως γέγονεν χρηστὴ γυνή,

G.1691.1.P.(m.s.iii.✱)

εἰ καὶ τις προτέρων ἑνα[γῶ]νται Ἑρμεῖ ἔρεβεν [[ῶ]ερά,

3089.1-2.V.?P.(200-150.✱).

5. κου.

There are 4 exx. of κου, in each of which κου takes second position (not counting ὅδε):-

εἰ ποῦ τί ἐστιν,

2498.16.U.(321/0)

ἔαν ὅδε κου δεῖηται *

463.43.(307/6)

πλὴν | εἰ κου αὐτοῖς Πειραιεῦσιν νόμιμόν ἐστ|ιν

εἰσιέναι,

1214.15-17.U.(300-250.✱)

εἰ κου λάφυρον ἀποδέδοται τοῖς κατακλέουσιν,

844.13.(193/2).

(* For δεῖηται, see PH.I.D.6.b.(iii).)

Cf. πώποτε :

ὅσα πώποτε αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [αρο][ς] ἐτάχθη

505.39-40.(302/1).

6. ὅδε.

a) For ὅπως ὅδε ἄν / ὅπως ἄν ὅδε, see 1.a.(iii) above.

b) For ὅδε and ἄν in Indefinitive Clauses, see 1.b.(ii) above.

c) For $\delta\epsilon$ and $\tau\iota\varsigma$, see 4.2. above.

d) $\kappa\alpha\iota$:-: $\delta\epsilon$ in this type of coordination $\delta\epsilon$ is the connective and $\kappa\alpha\iota$ is adverbial (see VI.A.9 above). Sometimes the whole adverbial $\kappa\alpha\iota$ phrase comes before $\delta\epsilon$, but sometimes $\delta\epsilon$ breaks up the adverbial $\kappa\alpha\iota$ phrase in order to get nearer the beginning of the clause: e.g.

$\kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma \delta\epsilon$	682.60-61.(c.256/5)
$\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron \lambda\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu \delta\epsilon$	909.17-18.(c.170.h.)
$\kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\varsigma \delta\epsilon \pi\rho\omicron\alpha\nu\alpha\lambda\iota\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu$	1327.12-13.U.(178/7).

These 3 exx. obviously form a close group, and it also seems that the writer of the first felt that it would be awkward to break up $\tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\varsigma$.

But cf.

$\kappa\alpha\iota \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\varsigma \delta\epsilon \pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota \mid [\varsigma$	457.b.8-9.(307/6)
$\kappa\alpha\iota \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma \delta\epsilon \theta\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\omicron\varsigma$	682.18-19.(c.256/5)

in both of which the position of $\delta\epsilon$ causes no disruption.

Note that the Article appears in the exx. where $\delta\epsilon$ is postponed.

e) In other cases $\delta\epsilon$ normally comes second, although in a few instances it is postponed: e.g.

$\epsilon\nu \acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\epsilon\iota \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \dots \epsilon[\nu] \mid \acute{\eta}\phi\alpha\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\iota \delta\epsilon$	1223.10-11.U.(p.179.s.)
$\epsilon\mu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu \tau\omicron\iota \epsilon\pi\iota \dots \epsilon[\nu\iota\alpha] \nu\tau\omicron\iota \dots \epsilon\nu \delta\epsilon \tau\omicron\iota \epsilon\pi\iota$	
$\acute{\iota}\kappa\kappa\acute{\alpha}\kappa\omicron\nu \epsilon\nu\iota\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\iota$	903.4-7.(c.176/5).

The difference between these 2 exx. is that in the first the prepositional phrases are short and do not postpone $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ very far; but in the second the prepositional phrases are so long that $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ and $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ could hardly be postponed.

cf. κατὰ ταῦτα $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$

1328.28.U.(175/4).

B. Words which are not Postpositives, and Certain Phrases:

1. ἑαυτόν.

a) Possessive ἑαυτ-οῦ/ῆς/ων : takes the attributive position:

e.g.

τοῖς | ἑαυτοῦ ἀναλώμα[σιν]

657.19-20.(283/2)

τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐνοίαν

1326.40.U.(176/5).

b) ἑαυτόν never comes later than the position immediately after the verb which governs it: e.g.

καὶ νῦν ἐπιδέδω[ι][ε]ν ἑαυτὸν δημοσιεῦειν

483.17-18.(304/3)

παρεῖχεν ἑαυτὸν τοῖς [ἐπαρχοῖς χρήσ] | ιμον

503.13-14.(302/1)

καὶ αὐτὸς τε αὐτὸν ἔταξ | εν Ἐλευσινάδε καὶ τοὺς

στρατιώτ | ας

1193.4-6.U.(f.s.iv.*)

ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος εὐχρηστον | ἑαυτὸν παρασκευάζει

850.4-5.(197/6).

2. ἑκαστος.

a) ἑκαστος tends to come early in its clause: e.g.

]σον ἂν ἑκαστος βοῦ[ληται H.III.44.33.6.U.(in.s.iii.π)

οὗ ἑκαστος ἡ[ο]ύλοντο 657.25.(283/2)

καθότι ἂν ἑκαστος αὐτὸν παρακαλε|τ, Ib.30-31.

ὅν, δ|καστοι ἰδῶσαντο, 772.12-13.(268/7).

These exx. are perhaps too few to conclude that ἑκαστος has the 'postpositive tendency' to occupy second position if possible, although ἂν displaces it to third position. But they do suggest that this is the case.

Note the third ex. and cf. b) below. I have already remarked on this ex. (see above A.2.d.(1)) and suggested that the influence of the word order ἑκαστος αὐτῶν may have postponed αὐτὸν here to this position. On the other hand, the other 3 exx. quoted here may, as I have just said, show that ἑκαστος always occupies an early position in the clause, perhaps even at the expense of αὐτὸν.

b) ἑκαστος αὐτῶν : in the formula relating to the conferring of crowns the word order is almost invariably στεφανῶσαι ἑκαστον αὐτῶν κτλ. There are 15 exx. of this from 456.b.25.(307/6) to H.S.I.131.71.27.(169/8). There is only 1 exception viz.

στε]φανῶ|σαι αὐτῶν ἑκαστ<ο>ν χρυσοῖ στεφανῶσι

S.XIV.65.38-39.(271/0).

Lines 38 and 39 of this inscr. are carelessly written - e.g. ἑκαστων is written instead of ἑκαστον, and there is an error in line 38. I think, therefore, that it is quite possible that the stone-cutter

has written the phrase in the wrong order and not taken the trouble to correct what he has written. Changes on stone are not as simple as those on paper, so that, once he has put αὐτῶν first, he is not likely to erase it and then insert ἑκαστον. Rather is he inclined to leave it and add ἑκαστον after.

Cf. also:

καὶ στεφανῶσεν ἑκαστον αὐτῶν | [χ]ρυσῶι στεφάνωι,
500.19-20.(302/1)

and in the Nominative:

ὀφειλέτω ἑκαστος | αὐτῷ<ν> :XXX: δραχμ: 1631.392-393.(323/2).

Cf. also the very similar formulation στεφανῶσαι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν : there are 4 exx. of this and no exceptions viz. 505.50-51.(302/1); 651.19.(286/5); H.VII.100.18.35.(282/1); 1320.8.U.(p.245.s.).

It is interesting to note that quite the opposite word order is used when τούτων appears instead of αὐτῶν ⁽¹⁾ : there are 2 exx. viz. στεφαν [ῶ] |σαι{σαι} τούτων ἑκαστον πολλοῦ στεφάνωι
H.S.I.120.64.39-40.(178/7)

στεφανῶσαι καὶ τούτων ἑκαστον πολλοῦ στεφάνωι
1322.24.U.(p.179.s.).

3. Adverbial καί.

Phrases with adverbial καί tend to come as early as possible in the clause: e.g.

a) immediately after conjunctions: e.g.

ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ κα[τέρες αὐτῶν πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις δεδοῖν] | οὖν

(1) see Dover, Greek Word Order, p.26ff.

πολιτείαν

566.7-8.(f.s.iv.π)

ἐπειδὴ καὶ [οἱ] νόμοι πρ[ος]τάττουσ[ι] ν,

832.12.(229/8).

b)immediately after *δέ*: e.g.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἀστυνόμων ἐπιμέλεια

380.17-18.(320/19)

προσαναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τῶδε τὸ ψήφισμα 448.71.(318/7)

ἐπ[α]| νγέλλεται δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸ[ν] 654.30-31.(285/4)

ὅπως ἂν δὲ καὶ τὰ Χαλκεῖα θύσωσιν 674.16.(273/2)

(^πFor ν replaces γ before γ, see PH.II.F.2.b.(iv).)c)immediately after *αὐτόν*: e.g.

ἐ[ξεῖ]| ναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ εἰκόνα ἀτ[ῆ]σαι

450.b.7-9.(314/3)

εἶναι δ' | αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν 500.31-32.(302/1)

καὶ διὰ ταῦτα αὐτόν καὶ πρότερον ὁ / δῆμος ἐπήλυσεν

H.VII.100.18.17-18.(282/1).

d)immediately after *ἂν*: e.g.

ὅπως δ' ἂν καὶ εἰς τὸ[ν] λο[ιπὸν] χρόνον

380.34.(320/19)

οὗ ἂν καὶ τοῖς στρατη[γ]οῖς κατανέμῃται.

500.35-36.(302/1)

Cf. A.1 above.

Thus adverbial καί comes immediately after the postpositives at the beginning of the clause. But there are a few possible exceptions viz.

- (i) ὅπως ἔν τετιμημένος ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [καί] ράττει καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν [καπῶν] τῶν αἰ|χιμαλώτων ὥς ἔν ὑπὲρ πολιτῶν

558.31-34.(c.303/2.h.)

But τετιμημένος .. δήμου would be awkward any later than where it is, and I think there is also a desire to juxtapose the 2 ὑπὲρ-phrases.

- (ii) ὅπως ἔ|ν ἀφροῦσιν καὶ ὅσοι τῶν πολιτῶν κατελήφεσαν ἐν | τῇ Ἀσίᾳ εἰργασμένοι ὑπὸ Δημητρίου καὶ Ἄντ[ε] γόνου|ν,

657.26-29.(283/2)

Here the verb ἀφροῦσιν has come first to avoid separating it too far from ὅπως ἔν.

- (iii) ὅπως ἔ|ν οὖν φαίνεται καὶ ὁ δῆμος τιμῶν τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς | ἄνδρας καὶ δέξιους μνήμης,

682.64-66.(c.256/5)

In State decrees the usual word order of this type of expression has the Subject before the Verb, whether adverbial καί is there or not: e.g.

- ὅπως [ἔν] οὖν ἡ βουλὴ [φαέ]|ίνεται 487.10-11.(304/3)

- ὅπως ἔ[ν οὖν] καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται τιμῶν

672.10.(279/8.h.)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται δευτέρῳ
677.7-8.(p.277.h.)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνονται
788.15-16.(235/4)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται 844.20-21.(193/2)

*
ὅπως οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος φαίνεται 945.16.(168/7)

ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | μνημονεύοντες
φαίνονται 956.22-23.(161/0)

ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος μνημονεύοντες
φαίνονται 958.18-19.(154/3)

(* For $\nu > \gamma$ before α , see PH.II.F.1.b.(ii).)

The ex. quoted above is the only State exception. But there are
2 parallels in Sub-Unit decrees viz.

ἵνα οὖν φαίνονται καὶ οἱ τεταγμένοι τῶν πολιτῶν
ἐν τοῖς προεδρίαις χάριτας ἀξίας [ἀπα] [οἱ] δόντες
1299.17-19.U.(pp.236/5)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν φαίνονται καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες
1283.9-10.U.(263/2)

cf. ἵνα οὖν φαίνονται οἱ τὴν σύνοδον φέροντες
1326.23-24.U.(176/5).

On the other hand, in Sub-Unit, as well as in State, documents
there are several exx. of the other word order e.g.

ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ οἱ ὀργεῶνες | φαίνονται
1324.10-11.U.(in.s.11.7*)

cf. also: 1314.9.U.(213/2); 1315.16.U.(211/10).

ὅπως [εἰ] ὅν οὖν καὶ τὰ γένη φαίνεται τιμῶντες

1235,9-10, U. (c.248/7).

The only explanation seems to be that there are 2 formulaic 'moulds' for Final Clauses with φαίνονται + Participle, so that when we find exx. of Adverbial καὶ not immediately after the postpositives, we are looking at exx. which have been cast in the alternative mould. The force of the formula is stronger than the tendency of Adverbial καὶ to occupy a very early position in the sentence.

(iv) στήσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄμιον καὶ | εἰκόνα καλ.

682,80-81. (c.256/5)

Perhaps the word order here is such because it is a resolution of the βουλή (cf. line 67), and τὸν ὄμιον has been given prominence in the phrase to show that the body setting up the εἰκόνα is the ὄμιος, not the βουλή.

(v) ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐν παντί παρῶσι τὰ φιλόφρονα πρὸς τοὺς
ἀελοῦς | πράττηται καὶ νῦν καθόπως καὶ πρότερον.

844,59-60. (193/2)

The reason for the postponement of καὶ νῦν is so as not to interrupt the Final Clause with the καθόπως-phrase with which καὶ νῦν goes very closely.

4. Miscellanea.

a) ^{*} ἐνεκα/ἐνεκεν : always follows its noun. There is 1 exception viz. οὔτε κόνον οὔτε κίνδυνον ἐπισκεπτικῶς ἐνεκεν | τοῦ

κοινοῦ συμφέροντος*

H.V.422.15.10-11.(196/5)

(* For the different forms of this word, see VO.I.A.)

b) παῖδες : see VO.I.E.

c) "women and children": this phrase always shows the reverse order in Greek e.g.

παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν

807.5.(m.s.iii.κ); 847.15-16.

(215/4); 992.15.(s.ii.κ).

The Greeks seem to have considered their children as more important than their wives. (For similar problems of word order, see J. Wackernagel: Kleine Schriften.⁽¹⁾)

5. Negatives.

There are relatively few exx. of the negative, and in many of those which do occur, the word order is determined by the number of words in the clause: e.g.

οὐ μὴ εἰσὶν οἰκονομη[μ]ένοι 463.59.(307/6).

But where there is some choice, the following principles seem to underlie the position of the negative:-

a) in Conditional Clauses, μὴ comes immediately after the connective unless it is necessary to insert the Subject first because it is not the same as that of the immediately preceding verb. This happens on a number of occasions when, after a list of imperatival infinitives,

(1) Vol.i, pp.236ff., especially pp.250-256.

a Conditional Clause appears with a change of Subject: e.g.

καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῶν ἑνδεκά | ἀπαλείψαι ἀπὸ τοῦ
 ἀφλημένου Σ|πολίτι ἀργυρίου ὅτι ἐν ἀποφα[ί]νει
 α|ὐτῷ ὁ ταμίης παρεισηφῶς ἔδν δὲ οἱ τῶν
 νεωρί|ων ἄρχοντες οἱ ἀφ' ἑγησίλου ἄρχοντ|ος παρα-
 λαβούσης τῆς πόλεως τ|οὺς κοπέ[ας] μὴ ἀναγράφωσιν
 εἰς τ|ὴν στήλην ἢ ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκά | μὴ
 ἀπαλείψει κτλ. 1631.377ff.(323/2).

Here, after an imperatival infinitive with τὸν γραμματέα as Subject, the Conditional Clause has first of all a new Subject viz. οἱ τῶν νεωρίων ἄρχοντες, and then changes back to ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν ἑνδεκά. In both cases the Subjects appear before the negative.

Cf. also:

στεφανούτω | ὁ ἱερεὺς Σωτήριχον θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι | καὶ
 ἀνειλάτω φιλοτιμίᾳς ἕνεκα τῆς ε[ί]ς τοὺς θιασώτας,
 ὅπως ἐν φανερόν εἴ π|ᾶσι τοῖς θιασώταις τοῖς βουλ-
 ομένοι|ς φιλοτιμεῖσθαι εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν οἰ|οσω[ν] τῶν
 ἔδν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς μὴ στεφανώσ|ει ἢ μὴ ἀνεῖται καθάπερ
 γέγραπται, ἀπ|οτινέτω κτλ. 1273.15ff. U.(281/0).

Here, although the Subject of the Conditional Clause is the same as that of the Imperative, the long intervening Final Clause has necessitated the prominent repetition of ὁ ἱερεὺς.

Contrast exx. where the Subject of the Conditional Clause is the same as the Subject of the preceding verb: e.g.

παρέχειν Διόγνητον τ|ήν οικίαν, οὗ τὸ ἱερὸν ἔστιν,
 ἀνεωλυ|μένην καὶ· ἔάν δὲ μὴ ἀποδιδοῖ τῇ
 μισθώσειν Διόγνητος ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς | γεγραμμένοις
 ἢ τέλλα μὴ ποεῖ τὰ ἐν | τῇ μισθώσει γεγραμμένα,
 2499,26ff.U.(306/5).

τέλλα seems to precede μὴ ποεῖ in a chiasmic order, and not to avoid the collocation of ἢ μὴ, as the next ex. shows. Dover remarks: "The fact that boundary-stones may be chiasmic shows that (1) chiasmus is not necessarily a literary embellishment."

μὴ ἐξεῖνα |ι δὲ Διοδώρῳ κοῦσαι· ἔάν δὲ μὴ
 ἀποδιδοῖ τὴν μισθώσιν ἐ | [ν] τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς
 γεγραμμένοις ἢ μὴ | [ε]ργάζεται τὸ χωρίον κατὰ τὰ
 γεγραμμέ | [ν]α, 1241,30ff.U.(300/299).

Here Diodoros is virtually the Subject of the imperatival infinitive construction and therefore no Subject is expressed with ἀποδιδοῖ and ἐργάζεται. Note that τὸ χωρίον, the equivalent of τέλλα in the previous ex., comes after the verb.

b) in Final Clauses μὴ comes immediately after ὅπως ἂν i.e.g.

ὅπως ἂν | [μ]ηδ' ὅφ' ἐνδὲς ἀδικῶνται 505,57-58.(302/1)

ὅπως ἂν μηδὲν ὀδύνημα γίνηται 1225,10.U.(c.250,h.)

ὅπως ἂν παρ' ἐκατέρων τῶν [ε]ῖμαι ἢ τε φιλεῖ | [α] καὶ ἢ
 εἰρήνη διατηρῇ | ται καὶ μηδ' ὁ [φ] ' ἐνδὲς περι[σ]πωμένη
 ἢ πόλις [δ] κατασταθεῖ εἰς | τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὐδαιμον-
 ίαν, 1304.6-8.U.(pp.211/10).

(1) op. cit., p.54.

c) in Oratio Obliqua the negative and infinitive come at the beginning of the phrase: e.g.

οἰόμενος δεῖν μὴ ἐνέσ[τ]αι αἰσθεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει

συμφέρουσι

666.12-13. (266/5).

d) in ἐκείδη- clauses the reasons for being honoured are usually positive rather than negative. In the few cases where they are negative, the negative comes at the beginning of the clause: e.g.

κα[ὶ οὐ]θεν ἀναντιπρό[ς]θεν ἡμικρατίαν οὐδεπώποτε

[ἐκείνη] ε[ν οἷ]ς ὅτι [αὐτῶν] λόγῳ οὐκ ἔργῳ 657.48-50. (283/2).

C. Clauses:

In this section I make an examination of the word order of Clauses, taking into consideration points which have not already been mentioned in A and B, while at the same time necessarily repeating myself to a certain degree.

1. Final Clauses:

a) For ὅπως ἔν, ὅπως ἔν οὐκ, ὅπως οὐκ ἔν, see A.1.a.(i)-(iii) above.

b) For negative in Final Clause, see A.1.a.(iv).

c) For Adverbial καὶ phrases in Final Clause, see B.3.d. and exceptions above.

d) It is clear that in the majority of cases the Subject precedes the Verb. I therefore examine below the ext. in which this is not so.

Some of these 'exceptions' can be explained on formulaic grounds i.e. they contain an expression which has become a formula. This does not, of course, explain why the expression originally took the form with the Verb before the Subject. It merely shows that certain expressions always - or nearly always - follow the word order: Verb - Subject.

Consider the following groups of exx.:-

(1) ὅπως ἂν οὐ καὶ τὰ καλὰ ἔα ὁδῶσιν τῇ<ι> Ἀθηναίῳ

τεῖ Ἀρχῇ [γέτιδι τ]| ἥς πόλεως καὶ ἔχει καλῶς
καὶ εὐσεβῶς τῇ βουλευτῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὰ πρὸς
τοὺς [θεοὺς], 674.16-18.(273/2)

ὅπως ἂν τούτων γενομένων | ἔχει καλῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς
τεῖ βουλευτῇ καὶ τῷ [ι] | δήμῳ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς
839.43-45.(221/0)

ὅπως εὐσεβῶς ἔχη τὰ κατὰ τὴν θεὸν

1328.42.U.(175/4).

Gf. also another ex. dealing with religious affairs, and having ἔχειν, although in a different meaning:

ὅπως ἂν ἐπι|σκευασθέντων τούτων τῷ θεῷ ἔχῃ χρῆσθαι
κοινεῖ πάντ|ες οἱ βουλευόμενοι τῷ ἱερῷ.*

1322.8-10.U.(p.179.B.)

I think it is just possible that the word order of this last ex. may reflect the word order of the 3 previous exx.

(* For χρῆσθαι, see MO.II.C.1.a.(1).)

(ii) ὅπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες 448.81.(318/7)

ὅπως ἂν οἷον εἴ/[δῶσιν ἅπαντ]ες 909.9.(c.170.h.).

There is only 1 exception to this word order viz.

ὅπως δ' ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσι 448.17.(318/7).

It might be thought that the fact that δὲ appears here, but not in the usual formula, has some significance. But I doubt this: cf. the following exx.:-

ὅπως ἂν δὲ καὶ εἰδῇ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἁπὸρτ[ο]/[πὸς τὰ
ἔφηφ]ισμένα τῷ δήμῳ, 653.42-43.(285/4)

ὅπως ἂν δὲ εἰδῶσιν οἱ παραγινόμενοι 1299.43.U.(pp.236/5).

I include these here because they both have εἰδέναι and therefore possibly reflect the pattern of the formula. But it is also the case that in the first of them there is an adverbial καὶ which, as I have shown, comes early in the sentence.

I think then that this exception is either a mistake or perhaps an ex. of what Dover calls 'preferential καὶ' (1).

(iii) ὅπως ἂν οἷον φανερόν εἴ [πᾶσιν, ὅτι κτλ.

657.50.(283/2)

ὅπως ἂν οἷον ἅπασιν ἦ φανερόν ὅτι κτλ.

505.41.(302/1)

Here the ὅτι Clause is the Subject of the verb in the Final Clause.

(1) op. cit., pp.26ff.

This pattern has, I think, influenced the word order of the following ex.:

ὅπως ἂν φανερόν [εἴ] ἦτε ἀπασιν ἢ φιλοτέλειτα

H.XI.290.56.24-25.(247/6).

These 3 groups show definite formulaic patterns. But the following exx. are not formulaic, and I deal with each separately:-

(i) ὅπως τέ | τε φιλόνοστα διαμένει πρὸς πάντας κρηταίους
καὶ ἐνὰ | εἴ που λάφυρον ἀποδέδοται τοῖς κατακλεῦουσιν,
ἀρθεῖ τοῦτο, 844.11-14.(193/2).

The ὅπως Clause has the usual word order, but the ἐνὰ Clause has Verb - Subject. Perhaps τοῦτο is postponed since the Subject of ἀρθεῖ is virtually expressed in the Conditional Clause by λάφυρον, to which τοῦτο refers.

(ii) ὅπως ἂν εἴητε [εἴδοι] καὶ [ντες οἱ ν] <εν>|ομο[μο]θετημένοι
[ἐπὶ] θερε [εἰλέουσ] | ἄρχοντας σκοπεῖν [τῷ] βουλ-
ο[μένω] | 487.6-9.(304/3).

There may be a desire not to separate the Verb too far from ὅπως ἂν, which would happen if it came after the long phrase πάντες ἄρχοντας. Again, perhaps the word order of the above-mentioned formula ὅπως ἂν εἴδοι πάντες had some influence.

(iii) ἐνὰ ὑπάρχει κάλλιστον ὑπόμνημα αὐτοῦ | εἰς τὸν
ἀπαντα χρόνον, 1326.47-48.U.(176/5).

This is a curious ex., when one recalls the common formula $\delta\omega\omega\varsigma \delta'$
 $\epsilon\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \delta\pi\acute{o}\mu\eta\eta\mu\alpha \delta\alpha\rho\chi\eta\iota \alpha\delta\tau\tilde{\omega}\iota \kappa\epsilon\rho\iota \kappa\tau\lambda.$ e.g. 908.17.

(b, 181-170, h.). Here we have neither $\delta\delta'$ nor $\alpha\delta\tau\tilde{\omega}\iota$, but we do have an adjective.

(iv) $\phi\rho\omicron\nu\tau\iota\varsigma\alpha\iota \delta\delta' \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \delta\rho\gamma\epsilon\delta\nu\alpha\varsigma \delta\omega\omega\varsigma \delta\phi\eta\rho\omega\iota\sigma\theta\epsilon\iota \Delta\iota[\omicron] | \nu\theta\sigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota \delta[\nu] \alpha\tau\epsilon\theta\epsilon\iota \epsilon\nu \tau\tilde{\omega}\iota \iota\epsilon\rho\tilde{\omega}\iota \kappa\alpha\rho\tilde{\alpha} \tau\omicron\nu \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu.$

1326.45-46.U. (176/5).

Perhaps the Subject is inserted between the 2 Verbs so that the first prepositional phrase may not be taken with the first Verb.

(v) $\epsilon\gamma\alpha \sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma\tau\alpha\lambda\tilde{\omega} | \sigma\iota\nu \alpha\iota \lambda\iota\alpha\nu \kappa\alpha\iota \rho\omicron\iota \delta\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\iota,$

1329.11-12.U. (175/4).

(* For $\sigma\upsilon\nu\sigma-$, see PH.II.F.2.c.(11).)

There is a marked tendency not to end a Final Clause with the Verb. In this ex., the Final Clause is so short that, unless the Verb precedes the Subject, it must be the last word.

I have found only 2 exx., where the Final Clause does end with the Verb, and both can be explained:-

$\delta\omega\omega\varsigma \epsilon\nu | [\mu]\eta\delta' \delta\phi' \epsilon\nu\delta\varsigma \delta\delta\iota\omega\delta\eta\nu\tau\alpha\iota$ 505.57-58. (302/1).

Here the negative explains the word order: see A.1.a.(iv) above.

$\delta\omega\omega\varsigma \epsilon\nu \delta\varsigma \beta\epsilon\lambda\tau\iota\sigma\tau\alpha \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \delta\pi\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma \kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon | \sigma\kappa\epsilon\nu\sigma\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota \epsilon\iota\varsigma \tau\epsilon$
 $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \phi\upsilon\lambda\alpha\kappa\acute{\iota}\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \delta\phi\epsilon\beta\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma \kappa\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\lambda\epsilon\tau\alpha\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$
 $\kappa\omicron\rho\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\iota.$ S.XIV.64.14-16. (271/0).

Here the participial phrase is prior in time to the Final Clause,

and so naturally precedes the Verb. Cf. also 11 below.

(vi) ὅπως ἂν ᾖ πολλοὶ οἱ φιλοτιμούμε|νοι,

1261.53-54.U.(300/299).

This is strongly reminiscent of the word order in (iii) above.

There seems to be a pattern: Conjunction - Verb 'to be' (or equivalent) - Adjective - Subject.

(vii) ὅπως ἂν διαμένει ὁ δῆμ|ος ἀλεσθέροσ ὃν καὶ τὸν

Πειραιᾷ κομίζεται

657.34-35.(283/2).

For this the only explanation is that none is needed. Although the Subject usually precedes the Verb, it does not necessarily and inevitably do so.

2. Indefinite Clauses:

- a) For Indefinitive Clauses with ἄν and ὅς, see A.1.b.(1) and (11).
- b) There are no exx. with the negative.
- c) For Adverbial καὶ phrases in Indefinitive Clauses, see B.3.d. and exceptions above.
- d) A large number of Indefinite Clauses have their Subject understood from a previous clause. In these the Verb tends to come as early as possible: e.g.

ὅπου ἂν βούλη|ται πλὴν πορ' Ἀρμόδιον καὶ|Ἀριστο-

γέ|τον [α].

450.b.10-12.(314/3)

ὅς | ἂν οὖνυνται κάλλιστον

839.33-34.(221/0)

ὅταν ἂν φαίνεται ἄξιός εἶναι.

844.70.(193/2).

There are a few exceptions, some of which can be explained satisfactorily: e.g.

ὅτι δ' ἂν διαχειροτονοῦντι τῷ δήμῳ δοῦναι,

674.19.(273/2).

Here, rather like the Genitive Absolute, which occupies an early position (see 11 below), the Participle and its noun come before δοῦναι.

ὅταν ἀγορὴν ποιῶσιν,

1165.34.U.(300-250.π).

ἀγορὴν ποιῶν may be treated as if it were 1 word: cf.

ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἑρμᾶ ἀπαγγεῖλωσιν καὶ σπονδὰς ποιή[σ]ω[σ]ιν

1297.12-14.U.(237/6).

Here again σπονδὰς ποιῶν may be treated as 1 word, but I cannot explain why τὰ ἑρμᾶ comes before ἀπαγγεῖλωσιν.

Perhaps no explanation is needed.

Cf. also:

οὐδ' ἂν εὐσχημον εἶναι | φαίνεται 1324.27-28.U.(in.s.ii.7π)

ὅτι ἂν δυνατὸς ᾖ 945.12.(168/7)

Contrast:

καὶ αὐτοὶ ἂν εἴ δυνατὸς. 729.4-5.(in.s.iii.π).

e) When the Subject is expressed, the ratio of Subject-Verb: Verb-Subject is 10:7, excluding a group of exx. which I shall consider separately below.

Subject-Verb: e.g.

οὐδ' ἂν ἡ πόλις τιθεῖ.

500.33.(302/1)

ὅταν αἱ ἡμέραι | αἱ ἐν τοῦ νόμου ἐξήρῃσιν,

682.68-69.(c.256/5)

ὅς ἂν ὁ ἀρχιερέων κελυ[η]ε" 1678.A.6.(a.315.h.)

ὅταν δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐξέλῃ | αὐτῷ τῆς δεκαετίας,

2499.11-12.U.(306/5)

Verb-Subject: e.g.

ὅτι ἂν ἐποφα[ί]ναι α|ὐτῷ ὁ ταμίης παρεληφῶς

1631.379-380.(323/2)

ὅτ[ι] ἂν τῶς ὁ ἀρχιερέων" 1678.A.11.(a.315.h.)

οὗ ἂν ἦ πέτρ|α, 1682.7-8.(285/4)

ὅταν ἦ | ἡ κομπή τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τεῖ Πανδῆ|μωι

659.21-23.(283/2)

καθότι ἂν εἴ|ς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν

H.XI.290.56.21-22.(247/6)

εἰς ὃ ἂν αὐτὸν παρακαλῶσιν οἱ ὀργεῶνες"

1329.19.U.(175/4)

ἐπειδὴν δὲ κερύσσει τὸν νόμ|ον οἱ θιασῶται,

1275.12-13.U.(in.s.111.×).

It should be noted that 3 of these 7 exx. have the verb 'to be'.

The group of exx. of Verb-Subject which I omitted in the figures quoted above, very obviously goes together. All the exx. are concerned with sacrifices, and almost certainly show formulaic interaction - although, of course, this does not explain why the

formula was originally expressed in this order:-

ὅταν δὲ | θύωσιν οἱ ὀργεῶνες τῷ ἥρωι τοῦ .ko|ηδρομεῖνος,

2499.24-26.U.(306/5)

οἷς ὅν θύωσ[ε] | ν υἱ δημόται 1204.14-15.U.(f.s.iv.*)

ὅταν θύωσι Πειραιεῖς ἐν τοῖς ποιν|οῖς ἑροῖς

1214.11-12.U.(300-250.*)

ὅταν ποιῶσι Πειραιεῖς τῷ Διον|ύσει,

1b.20-21.

ὅταν θύωσιν οἱ θιασῶτα[ι] | [κ] αὐ σπονδαῖς ποιήσωνται,

1273.14-15.U.(281/0)

ὅταν δὲ θύωσιν αἱ θυγαῖ

1283.20.U.(263/2)

ὅταν δὲ γίνηται ἡ θυγάτηρ τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι

1299.30.U.(pp.236/5).

3. Consecutive Clauses:

There are too few exx. - only 6 in all - to draw any conclusions about word order. But it is interesting to note that 4 of these exx. fall into 2 pairs with similar characteristics:-

ὅστε ἀνατεθῆναι εἰς τὸ ἑρδν 1297.5.U.(237/6)

ὅστε ἀνατεθῆναι τῇ μὲν | μέαν ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δήμου

καὶ τῶν καρτίων, τὴν δὲ ὕλ|ην ἐν Ζαλαρῆνι ἐν τῷ

τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἑρῶι. 909.22-24.(c.170.h.)

ὅστε ἀνδρ[ο]ο[ν] | [υς] εἶναι εἰς τὸ εἶσω,

463.60-61.(307/6)

ὥστε τῶν συμμάχων μόνους Ἀθηναίους ἀλειτουργήτους |
εἶναι τῶν ἔργων τῶν πρὸς τὴν πολιορκίαν·

682.16-18.(c.256/5)

The other 2 exx. are:-

ὥστε μήτε τὴν ἑαυ[τοῦ πατρ]|ίδα μήτε τὴν ἑλλην "Ἑλλασσα

ἰδεῖν δουλεύουσαν, 448.55-56.(318/7)

ὥστε ἑαυτο|ρεῦσαι καὶ συνδιεξαγαγεῖν μετ' αὐτῆς τὸν

ἐνιουτόν 1328.24-25.U.(175/4).

4. Conditional Clauses:

a) Postpositives always come immediately after "if": e.g.

εἰάν τοι δέωνται, 448.81.(318/7)

εἰάν τις εὖ ποιήσει αὐτόν 1b.82.

εἰάν δέ τις εἰσφορὰ γ|[ί]γνηται ἀπὸ τῶν χωρίων τοῦ

τιμήματος, 2498.7-8.U.(321/0)

καὶ ἔν τι ἐγ|λείπει, 2499.16-17.U.(306/5)

εἰάν τι κ[ρ][ρ]οφείλῃ τῆς μεσθώσεως ἢ καθέλε [υ] τ [υ]|

[τ]ῆς οἰκίας ἢ κῶψι τι τῶν ἐκ τοῦ χωρίου·

1241.39-41.U.(300/299).

In this last ex. the first τι comes immediately after εἰάν ; the second and third τι come immediately after their verbs, but not after ἢ . The question therefore arises: did the Greeks of this period say ἢ τι ?

I have consulted my former colleague Mr. M. H. B. Marshall on

this point. Mr. Marshall is doing research under the supervision of Prof. Dover into the word order of postpositives in Thucydides, Plato and Demosthenes. He assures me that in Thucydides there are no exx. of $\eta - \tau\epsilon - \text{Verb}$ or of $\eta \tau\epsilon$ where there is no verb present. In Plato - as far as he has gone - there are more instances of $\eta - \tau\epsilon - \text{Verb}$ or $\eta \tau\epsilon$ without Verb than $\eta - \text{Verb} - \tau\epsilon$ or $\eta - \text{word} - \tau\epsilon$. However, the number of instances vary considerably between Dialogues e.g. there are 11 exx. of $\eta \tau\epsilon$ in Theaetetus, but none in Protagoras and Gorgias. As yet Mr. Marshall has not examined enough of the Demosthenic Corpus to draw any conclusions.

It is also worth noting that one must take into consideration formulaic patterns such as $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon\varsigma$. In a collocation of $\eta + \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon\varsigma$, the pattern $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\varsigma \tau\epsilon\varsigma$ pulls against $\eta \tau\epsilon\varsigma$. Therefore, there may be more exx. of $\eta \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron \tau\epsilon$ than $\eta \tau\epsilon \epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron$. However, that consideration does not enter here.

b) For negative Conditional Clauses, see B.5.a. above, where a discussion of the position of the Subject can also be found. For positive exx. in which the Subject is expressed, cf. the following:

$\epsilon\zeta \kappa\omicron\upsilon \lambda\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\rho\omicron\nu \delta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon\theta\omicron\tau\alpha\iota \tau\omicron\zeta \kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu,$

844.13.(193/2)

$\epsilon\nu \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu \delta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\zeta \delta \lambda\eta[\phi]\theta\epsilon\epsilon\varsigma,$

1362.9.U.(f.s.iv.*)

$\epsilon\nu \delta\delta \delta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma \epsilon\zeta,$

ib.14.

In line 7 of this latter inser. we read:

ὅν δὲ τις ληφθεὶς [κ]όπτων κατὰ.

Therefore ὁ ληφθεὶς can be predicted as the Subject of the clause ὅν μὲν δοῦλος εἶ , and does not precede the verb.

Note too the pattern of these last 2 exx.: "if"- postpositive-adjective - εἶ.

5. Causal Clauses:

a) With ἐπειδὴ: In honorary decrees it is natural for the recipient of the honours to be named as soon as possible. In ἐπειδὴ -clauses, therefore, which come immediately after the preamble and outline the reasons for voting the subsequent honours, the Subject always precedes the Verb. There are so many exx. of this that it is not necessary to quote any one of them, but it is worth mentioning inscr. 844.(193/2). This contains 3 decrees, 2 pertaining to one Eumaridas son of Pankles from Kydonia. In the first decree we find the normal word order i.e. Subject before Verb: thus, at line 4:-

ἐπειδὴ Εὐμαρίδας πρότερόν τε,

but in the second decree there is a long intervening clause between ἐπειδὴ and Εὐμαρίδας : thus, at lines 34-35:-

ἐπειδὴ οὐδὲ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἣν ἔχων δια/τελεῖ πρὸς τὸν
ὄημον Εὐμαρίδας κυδωνιότης πρότερον μὲν|

This postponement of the Subject can only happen because it has already been mentioned in the first decree. But in the third decree, where there is a change of honorand, we read at line 51:

ἐπειδὴ καμίων ὁδὸς ὡν ἐπαρτίδου τοῦ Κυθωνιάτου κτλ.

This lends support to my arguments elsewhere that the Subject is expressed early either if it is unknown or if it is different from the Subject of the preceding clause. But if it is already known or is easily understood, it comes in a later position.

b) With ὅτι : there are only 2 exx., in both of which the verb immediately follows ὅτι viz.

κατέγνωσαν | ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεδίδου τὰ ξύλινα σκεύη

1631.355-356.(323/2)

ἐπαινέσαι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός

450.a.12-13.(314/3).

c) With ἐπεὶ : only 1 ex., viz.

ἐπεὶ τὰ τε ἄλλα πράττουσιν καλῶς | [ρ]αὶ εὐσεβῶς τὰ
κατὰ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀναθεῖναι [α]ὐτοὺς καὶ στήλην

1298.9-11.ii.(247/6).

For τε in this ex., see VI.A.11.a. above.

6. Noun Clauses:

a) Subject expressed: it seems that, unless it has already been mentioned in the preceding clause, the Subject comes immediately after ὅτι e.g.

Subject-Verb-Object:

ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ Κολοφωνίων ἀνατίσῃσι [τόνδε τὸν

στέφ]|ανον

456.b.5-6.(307/6)

ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ 'ΕΛ|[ευ]σι[ν]ων στεφανοῖ Σπικυόλονα

1193.16-17.U.(f.s.iv.κ)

ὅτι θεοόγεσι στεφανοῖ |[σ]ι 'Επιγένην

1247.15-16.U.(m.s.iii.κ).

In all 3 the Subjects have been mentioned previously, but not immediately previously. At the same time these clauses have the appearance of 'headings', as it were: X. crowns Y.

Verb-Object-Subject:

ἀνεκτεῖν δὲ καὶ Διο|νυσίων τοῖς κομωιδόις τοῖς

Αἰξωνῆσιν ἐν τῷ θ|όδῳ, ὅτι στεφανοῖ αὐτοῦς

ὁ δῆμος ὁ Αἰξωνέων| 1202.14-16.U.(313/2).

Here τοῖς Αἰξωνῆσιν comes just before the ὅτι clause. Again, αὐτοῦς cannot come any later than immediately after στεφανοῖ ; therefore the Subject comes at the end of the clause.

Subject-Verb-Infinitive:

ὅτι ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ |[θ]ῆμος ὁ 'Αθηναίων ἐκίσταται

χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι |[ε] 505.41-43.(302/1)

Contrast: Verb-Infinitive-Subject:

ὅτι ἐκίστανται χάριτας ἀ|ποδιδόναι οἱ θιασῶται.

1261.54-55.U.(300/299).

This last ex. is the end of a long inser. recording 3 decrees of 'Veneris Thiasotai'. Perhaps by this stage it is felt that the Subject of such a clause is easily predictable.

Verb-Subject-Infinitive:

ὅτι ἐκίστανται πατριεῖς χάριτα|ς ἀξίας ἀποδιδόναι

1214.34-35.U.(300-250.κ).

Here it is quite clear from the preceding line what the Subject is.

b) Subject not expressed:

(i) Verb immediately after *ὅτι*: e.g.

ὅτι τιμηθήσονται ὁ/πὸ τοῦ δήμου ἀξίως τῆς εὐνοίας

507.20-21.(c.302/1)

cf. *γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ* (formula) e.g. 500.24-26.(302/1).

(ii) *ὅτι* -Object-Verb: e.g.

ὅτι χάριτας ἀξίως ποιοῦντα [i 847.35.(215/4).

It will have been noted in the preceding exx. that *χάριτας* always comes before *ἀποδιδόναι*. Cf. also:

ὅτι χάριτας ἀποδιδούσι οἱ ὀργεῶνες

1316.19.U.(272/1)

ὅτι χάριτα|ς ἀπολήψονται παρὰ τῶν θιασωτῶν

1263.29-30.U.(300/299).

7. Temporal Clauses:

a) For Indefinite Temporal Clauses, see A.1.b. and C.2.d. above.

b) The only other ex. is

ὅτε ὁ βασιλ|εύς Ἀντίγονος ἀπέστειλεν τὸν υἱὸν α|ὐτοῦ

Δημήτριον

498.b.15-17.(303/2.h.).

8. Local Clauses:

a) For Indefinite Local Clauses, see A.1.b. and C.2.d. above.

b) There are only 4 other exx. viz.

οὐ καὶ αὐτοῖς Πειρατεῦσι κατανέμ|εται

1214.21-22.U.(300-250.π)

Here there is no Subject expressed, and, as expected, the adverbial καὶ phrase comes as early as possible.

οὐ τὸ ἱερὸν ἐστίν,

2499.27.U.(306/5)

οὐ τοῦ δ' Ἀλκιῶς ἐστίν|

1322.17.U.(p.179.s.)

Neither τὸ ἱερὸν nor ὁ Ἀλκιῶς has been previously mentioned.

οὐ ἕκαστοι ἢβ [ο] ὕλοντο

657.25.(283/2)

For ἕκαστος, see B.2. above.

9. Comparative Clauses:

a) Most of the exx. have no Subject expressed, and have the Verb immediately after the conjunction: e.g.

καθὼς περ ἐτά|[χοῦσαν ὁ] πρὸ τοῦ δήμου·

665.12-13.(266/5)

ὡς ἡδυνήθησαν | φιλοτιμότεστα

1320.3-4.U.(p.245.s.)

καθ' ὅσον ἐστὶν οὐν [αὐτὸν

867.4.(f.s.iii.3π)

There are 2 apparent exceptions viz.

καθὼς περ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται.

1330.63.U.(p.163.π)

This is explained by the adverbial καὶ and the emphatic αὐτός.

καθὼς περ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων γέ|γραπται

1678.A.12-13.(a.315.h.)

Here, in a sense, καὶ is implied with the prepositional phrase.

Again, ἕλλος tends to come early.

b) There are only 3 exx. in which the Subject is expressed viz.

καθόπερ ὁ δῆμος ἐψηφίσατο 448.70.(318/7)

[κα] καθόπερ αἰτοῦνται αὐτῷ ἐκρυψείδης καὶ Μελίων.

844.42.(193/2)

καθότι ἐκαστος δυνατός ἐστιν, 1322.8.U.(p.179.a.).

In the second of these the reason for the word order may be to avoid ending with αὐτῷ, which tends to come as early as possible.

In the third the word order is influenced by ἐκαστος.

10. Relative Clauses:

It is perhaps impossible to distinguish any overall pattern for Relative Clauses since one finds 'pairs' like

ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέτινον οἱ τε νόμοι [ε

790.21.(235/4).

ὧν αὐτῷ οἱ τ[ε] νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα προστάτ[ουσιν]

1163.10-12.U.(284/3)

cf. σου αὐτοῖς ἡ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος πρὸς ἑτάωτεν,

500.16-17.(302/1).

But there are certain formulaic patterns easily discernible:-

a) In expressions of the type: "which he continues to have", the participle always precedes διατελεῖν. Here ἔχων may be felt to have a prepositional force (= 'with') and so appears next to the relative pronoun: e.g.

ἥς ἔχων διατελεῖ π[ε]ρὶ τὸν σῆμον 657.59-60.(283/2)

ἦν ἔχοντες διατελ[ο]σιν περὶ τοὺς ἐφ[ε]ρ[ο]ν[τες].

665.30-31.(266/5).

b) In expressions of the type: "concerning the things which X. announces", the Verb always precedes the Subject: e.g.

περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλου|σιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιοχείδος

674.4-5.(273/2)

περὶ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ|ει ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης

780.6-7.(252/1)

ὅπερ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλ|[ο]υσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Πανδιονίδος

790.8-9.(235/4)

cf. περὶ ὧν λέγουσιν οἱ ἀποσταλέντε|ς

H.IV.562.40.9-10.(281/0).

c) In expressions of the type: "(the sacrifices) which X. sacrificed", the Verb always comes immediately after the relative pronoun: e.g.

οἷς ἔθουσιν ἐπὶ ὑγιεῖαι καλ.

674.9.(273/2); 661.17.

(267/6); etc.

ἔς ἔθουσεν τῷ τε Διονύσῳ π[ε]ρὶ

780.7.(252/1).

d) In expressions of the type: "which X. dedicated", the Verb always precedes the Subject: e.g.

τύπον ὃν ἀνέστηκε λα|μῖτον

839.56-57.(221/0) cf. ib. passim.

ὁφείλο[ν] ἀργυροῦν θ [ἀ]νέθη[κε]ν εἰλίστα:

1534.A.37.(292/1,*) cf. lb. passim.

ἀνέ[θηκεν] Εὐφραγόρα[ς]

1537.13.(p.245.s.) cf. lb. passim.

e) In expressions of the type: "(goodwill) which X. has towards Y",
ἔχειν always comes immediately after the relative pronoun: (cf. a)
above) e.g.

ἣν ἔχουσιν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον

687.30.(265/4)

ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίαν.

682.60.(c.256/5)

ἣν ἔχει πρὸς τὸν δῆμον

780.14.(252/1)

ἣν ἔχει πρὸς Ἀθηναίους

884.7-8.(c.200.h.).

11. Genitive Absolute:

Genitive Absolutes come immediately after the introductory word
of the clause in which they stand - as one would expect, since
they usually represent either Temporal or Causal Clauses which
naturally precede statements subsequent in time: e.g.

καὶ ψηφισαμένων τῶν θιασωτῶν μισθὸν αὐτοῖς δόδοσθαι

ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ καὶ τοῦτον δέδωκε τοῖς θιασωταῖς,

1263.16ff.U.(300/299)

καὶ νῦν ἀποστείλαντες τοῦ δῆμου πρεσβευτάς,

συνηγόρησεν κατὰ.

844.11ff.(193/2).

D. Prescripts of Decrees:

Decrees of the βουλή and δήμος always contain a formula stating simply that this is a decision of the Council or of the People. With this formula we regularly find mention of the date, of the magistrate(s) presiding, and of the proposer of the decree. The actual provisions of the decree grammatically depend on the verb of proposing (εἰπεν), and they comprise a list of imperatival infinitives and accusative and infinitives in Oratio Obliqua. But between these provisions and the formula ὁ δεινὸς εἰπεν there normally appears a lengthy Causal Clause introduced by ἐπεὶ ὅτι - "whereas X. has benefited the state in such-and-such a way" - which relates the honorand's virtues and thus explains the grounds for the proposal.

It is possible, therefore, for the purposes of considering the formulae contained therein, to divide into 3 parts such a decree: 1. the prescript; 2. the Causal Clause; 3. the actual provisions of the decree. Of these 3 I shall here deal only with the first, since I have already discussed the word order of ἐπεὶ ὅτι clauses - (see C.5.a. above) -, and the word order of the various provisions is dealt with at E. below.

The information to be conveyed in the prescript amounts to the following items, all of which are usually included:-

- a) the name of the eponymous archon. This gives the year of the decree.
- b) the name of the tribe in prytany. This indicates what section

of the year we are dealing with.

c) The name of the ἐπιστάτης of the πρυτάνεις, or the ἐπιστάτης of the πρόεδροι. From the πρυτάνεις was drawn daily by lot the ἐπιστάτης (chairman). He was assisted by one third of the presiding tribe whom he selected. In the 5th century he also served as chairman of the Council and Assembly, if one was held on his day. In the 4th century he selected by lot from the other 9 tribes 9 προεδροί, and out of them a foreman was chosen, who was the actual chairman of the meeting.

d) The name of the secretary.

e) The name of the proposer of the decree.

f) We may also be told the number of the tribe in prytany, and get a calendar equation between the lunar date and the conciliar date.

In what form, then, is all this information conveyed? In discussing this I think that it would be of advantage here to take into consideration prescripts which belong to the period before 323 BC. This will help to show how the formulae have developed and yet retained their basic shape and pattern.

The earliest complete prescript I can find is I².94.1-4.(418/7):

Θεοί.

[Ε]δοχσεν τῷ βολῶντι καὶ τῷ δέμῳ Πανδιονίῳ ἐκρυτάνευσεν,

Ἄριστόχ-

[σ]ενος ἐγγραμμάτευσεν, Ἀντιόχιδος ἐκπροστάται, Ἀντιφῶν ἔρχε,

Ἀδόσιος-

ἔς εἰς πρ.

This begins with the word 'Gods', which occurs frequently at the beginning of decrees and seems to indicate that the correct religious ceremonies were performed. It is of no importance from the point of view of word order, since it comprises but one word.

In second place comes: 'the decision was taken by the Council and the People'. This formulation remains unchanged from earliest to latest inscrr., although the shorter form - 'the decision was taken by the People' - is sometimes employed from the 4th century on. Grammatically it differs from the other items of the prescript in that the verb is impersonal. For the moment, however, I will not try to account for the word order, but only draw attention to another very similar formula found usually just before the actual text of the decree viz. $\delta\epsilon\sigma\delta\chi\theta\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omega\iota$ $\delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$ / $\tau\eta\iota$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\iota$, often preceded by $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$ $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ or $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\eta\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\alpha\theta\eta\iota$. Here, although we find both 'with good fortune' and 'with fortune good', the order 'be it decided by the People/Council' is invariable, just as 'it was decided by the People/Council' remains unchanged. It is also noteworthy that in the expression $\gamma\nu\omega\mu\eta\nu$ $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\mu\beta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron\nu$ $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\nu$ $\delta\tau\iota$ $\delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa\epsilon\iota$ $\tau\eta\iota$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta\iota$ the order is the same. I shall discuss this further below.

Next comes: 'Pandionis held the presidency', not 'the presidency was held by Pandionis'; and similarly, 'Aristoxenos was secretary', 'Antiochides was chairman', 'Antiphon was archon', and 'Adousios made the proposal'.

Thus the only formula in the prescript where the Verb precedes

the Subject is 'the decision was taken by the Council and the People'. All the others state: 'X. was such-and-such', not 'such-and-such was done by X.'. Why is this so?

Before I attempt an answer, I would like to mention II².206. 1-7.(349/8):

ἐπὶ τῆς Πανδιονίδος ἐνότης κ[ουτα]-
 νείας ἤι Διεύχης Δημάρχου Θρε[άρρ]-
 ιος ἐγραμμώτευσεν. Σώκροδης Ἀλ[αίε]-
 υς ἐπεσώπει. Καλλίμαχος ἦρχεν. [ἔδ]-
 οξεν τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ. Ἴε[ρο]-
 κλείδης Τιμοστράτου Ἀλωπεκῆθε [ν]
 εἶπεν.

Here we have a sort of intermediate stage between the brief declarations like 'X. held the presidency', 'Y. was secretary' etc. and the more sophisticated arrangement of the prescript which predominates from the middle of the 4th century onwards. For, instead of 'Pandionis held the presidency' and 'Dieuches was secretary', we find 'in the of Pandionis ninth prytany for which Dieuches son of Demarchos from Phrearrioi was secretary'. These 2 items have been combined into one, although the other items still remain separate statements.

This gradual process of sophistication can be further seen by considering the following prescripts:-

213.1-6.(347/6)

ἐπὶ Θεμιστοκλέους ἄρχοντος. [ἔδοξεν]

τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· Αἰγ[ηῖς ἐπευ]-
 τόνευσεν, Λυσίμαχος Σωσιδῆμου 'Αχαρνέ[ς ἐγγραμ]-
 ᾠτευσεν, Θεόφιλος 'Αλιμούσι[ς ἐπεστά]-
 τει· Στέφανος 'Αντιδωρίδου 'Ε[ροιάδης]
 εἶπεν·

218.3-7.(346/5).

ἐπὶ 'Αρχίου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ακαμαντίδ-
 ος ἐνάτης ἦν Κηφισόδορος 'Αθηνοφάνους
 ἄλυστος ἐγγραμμάτευσεν· τῶν προέδρων ἐπε-
 [ψ]ήφισεν Πρωτίας 'Αχαρνέ[ς]· Εὐβουλίδης 'Αν-
 [τ]ιφίλο 'Αλιμούσιος εἶπεν·

In the former, instead of 'Themistocles was archon', we read 'in Themistocles' archonship' (literally, 'in the time of Themistocles being archon!'), although the other items are all of the simple Subject-Verb statement type. The latter shows the next stage as the items become, as it were, a piece of prose composition rather than a list of simple sentences. Also the board of proedroi are mentioned for the first time, in the form 'of the proedroi the matter was put to the vote by Protias from Acharnai', i.e. the Verb precedes the Subject. Again one asks why?

Lastly cf. 373.16-22.(322/1), which is a good ex. of a stock prescript after 323 BC :

[ἐκ]τὸς ἐλευκλέους ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Οἰνεΐδος ἐνά[τ]-

[ης] πρυτανείας, ἢ Εὐθυγένης Ἡφαιστοδῆμου κήρυ[σ]-
 [ις] δὲ ἐγγραμμάτευεν· θαργηλιῶνος δευτέραι ἵστα-
 [μέ]νου, τρίται καὶ εἰκοστῇ τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐπι[λ]-
 [ησ]ία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν· ἑδάλκος θαληρε[ύ]-
 [ς]· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ· Διόφαντος Θρασυκλείδου καὶ [ρ]-
 [ρι]νούσιος εἶπεν·

This makes mention of: archon; tribe in prytany; secretary; lunar date and prytany date; board of proedroi and chairman; body taking the decision; proposer of the decree. All or some of these items occur in each decree in this form throughout my period.

Before examining this as a whole, there is one more point which deserves mention. In the years 321/0 - 319/8 and 294/3 - 292/1 one finds another official in the prescript viz, the ἀναγραφεὺς or registrar: e.g.

380.1-3.(320/19)

Ἀναγραφεὺς Ἀρχέδ[ι]κος Ναυκρίτου Λαμπτ[ρεύ]ς.
 ἐπὶ Νεαίχμου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθί-
 ῖδος δευτέρας πρυτανείας κτλ.

389.1-4.(319/8)

ἐπὶ Ἀπολλ[ο]δοῦρου ἄρχοντος δεύτε[ρο]-
 [ν, ἀναγρα]φῆως δὲ Ἐπιποῦρου τοῦ Π[άχη]-
 [τος ? Φυλα]σίου, ἐπὶ τῆς Πανθιο[νίδος ἐν]-
 [έτης πρ]υτανείας· κτλ.

In the former there appears a heading in the Nominative case,

syntactically independent of the rest of the prescript. In the latter this office of registrar is combined syntactically with that of the archonship. But the common factor is the word order, which is exactly the opposite of that for the archon, since the office precedes the holder of the office. Again the question arises: why?

First of all, it is clear from the extant evidence that there is no great uniformity in the prescripts in which the registrar is named with regard to the order Archon-Registrar or Registrar-Archon. This is what one would expect because of the infrequency of the office itself i.e. no sequence occurred often enough to become predominant. However, this one feature does stand out that, no matter where the information 'X. was registrar' is conveyed, it is always in the order Office-Name of Officer. To this extent the expression has become fixed, and the reason may well have been to distinguish it from the archon-formula where ἐπὶ + Genitive makes one automatically predict ἄρχοντος.

To return now to the questions I raised and left unanswered above: why do we always find

ὁ δεῖνα ἐκρυτάνευε or ἐπὶ τῆς - - κρυτανείας

ὁ δεῖνα ἐγραμμάτευε or ἡ δὲ δεῖνα ἐγραμμάτευε

ὁ δεῖνα ἦρχε or ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἄρχοντος

ὁ δεῖνα ἐπεστάτα

ὁ δεῖνα εἶπεν

but never ἐκρυτάνευε ὁ δεῖνα, ἐγραμμάτευε ὁ δεῖνα etc. ?

One might argue that the 'important' fact is not that there was an archon or secretary or chairman, but who that person was. We want to know the first item of information before the second, and so we find ἐκ τοῦ δευτέρου ἀρχοντος, not ἐκ ἀρχοντος τοῦ δευτέρου. Such an argument might, I suppose, have some basis if there had always been a fixed sequence for the different items in the prescript. Then the first name mentioned would be the archon, the second the prytanising tribe, the third the secretary, etc. But, as I have shown, that sequence often varied, and, indeed, some items were on occasion completely omitted. Therefore, one could not actually know what office to predict after mention of a name. And more important still, such arguments fall to the ground when we compare the formulae of the prescript of decrees from Argos:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| ἀποφασίᾳ ἐδοξε τελεσθαι | - 'by the Assembly the decision was taken at a valid meeting' |
| γροφεὺς βουλῆς ὁ δεῖνα | - 'the secretary of the Council (was) X.' |
| ἀφ' ἧτερος ὁ δεῖνα | - 'the chairman was X.' |
| ἐλαβεν ὁ δεῖνα | - 'the proposer was X.' |

This demonstrates clearly that what was the natural order in one state was not necessarily considered so in another.

What, then, is the answer? It can probably be summed up in the one word - Chance. What happens is this: for any given idea

(1) See Dover, op. cit., pp. 56ff.

there is originally more than one possible way of expressing it. One formulation somehow or other gains a lead over the others and eventually becomes a formula. The influences which determine the final formulation in one state cannot be, or at least are not necessarily, the same in another, but formulae in one state can, and do, influence the predominant formulation of other utterances of similar nature. This interaction of formulae will be further considered in Section E below.

But why do $\xi\delta\omicron\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \tau\eta\tau\epsilon\ \pi\omicron\upsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon$ / $\tau\omega\iota\ \delta\eta\mu\omega\iota$ and $\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\pi\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\psi\eta\phi\iota\zeta\epsilon\nu\ \delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha$ not adhere to this trend which we have seen is evident among the other items of the prescript? In the former expression I have already noted that there is an impersonal verb - literally 'it seemed good to'. All the other expressions have personal verbs with subjects expressed. In the latter expression we have the equivalent, or rather the replacement, of the simple $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\tau\epsilon\iota$, and to that piece of information is added the fact that he was chosen from $\tau\omega\nu\ \pi\omicron\sigma\delta\omicron\pi\omicron\nu$. Thus both expressions differ in nature from these others which are obviously a close-knit group. This, I think, may well account for the fact that there is no interaction or influence upon them from these other formulae. And it is interesting to note that in Argos they did not say 'it was decided by the Assembly' but 'by the Assembly it was decided'. This adds weight to the argument that we are dealing with expressions which were considered by both states to be different in kind and so not 'interactionable'.

The second half of this expression recalls the ἀναγραφεὺς - formula which I quoted above, especially 389.1-2.(319/8). And when one considers that the priest-formula is always in this order i.e. Office-Name of Priest = e.g. 3210.4.(296/5); 1534.A.passim. (292/1.π); 1b.B.passim.(247/6); 2798.3.(197/6) -, it lends support to my suggestion that expressions of the kind 'in the time of the office of X.' follow a different word order to distinguish them from the stock 'in X's archonship'.

Secondly, cf. 1191.1-2.U.(321/0)

[δημορχ]οὔντος 'ονήτορος
[ἀρχ]όντος δὲ 'ἀρχιπ[ου].

Here the first phrase accords well with what I have just said - 'the demarch (being) Onetor'. But then we have 'and the archon (being) Archippos'. This is the only instance of this word order I can find, and the explanation of it is either that the lack of ἐπὶ freed the expression from the ties of the conventional ἐπὶ τοῦ δεῖνος ἀρχόντος, or - and more important perhaps - that the formulation has been influenced by the preceding δημορχοὔντος 'ονήτορος.

We see too, that, just as 'it seemed good to the Council and Assembly', so also did 'it seem good to the thiasotai', as likewise to the demesmen, the orgeones, the soldiers, the men from Aixone etc. And in the same way we find δεδῶχθαι τῷ κοινῷ / τοῖς κήρυξι / τοῖς ἐβμολεῦσιν.

Lastly, the expression 'X. made the proposal' still has the

same sequence in these Sub-Unit inscrs.

To conclude this section on prescripts, I think it relevant to make a brief reference to the formulae employed in the Choregic Monuments. There one finds identical formulations of the type:

'X. was - ': e.g.

3079.1-4.(282/1)

ὁ δῆμος ἐ[χολ]ρ[ή]ν[η]σε, Νικίας ἦρχε.

ἀγωνοθέτ[ης] ΓΑ]λύκω[ν] *Ε]πεικλέους Αἰολαίδης.

Λεωντίς [ἀν]δρῶν ἐνίκω, *Ἰπποκλῆς Βοιωτός

ἦλκε, Θ[εοδ]ωρίδης Βοιωτός ἐδίδασκε.

Note that in line 2 ἀγωνοθέτης precedes the name: cf. ἐπὶ
τερέως / ἀναγραφῶς τοῦ δεῖνος.

E. Provisions of Decrees:

In the 5th and early 4th centuries the Athenian populace expressed its gratitude to its benefactors in a fairly simple and unpretentious fashion. In later times, however, the bestowal of mere praise for virtue did not satisfy the legislative appetite of a πόλις whose political identity was rapidly disappearing, and the συνέλευσις turned its energies towards conferring honours of a more substantial nature e.g. golden crowns. I shall now examine in detail the form in which these provisions were expressed.

These formulae are either in Oratio Obliqua and depend on the verb of proposing - 'X. made the proposal; whereas Y. has done this and that, let the following things be done'; or else they depend on

ὁμοῖον τῷ ὀνόματι , which itself ultimately depends on the original verb of proposing - 'X. made the proposal; whereas Y. has done this and that, let it be decided by the People to do the following things, and that other things should be done'.

The variety of favours which the Athenian populace could confer is, of course, somewhat extensive, and a necessary consequence of this is that in no one inscr. can we get all of the possible favours listed and so compare them as with the prescript. One must select the recurrent decisions and compare them with each other and with other formulations of similar type. I intend, therefore, to lay more emphasis on the interaction of different formulae rather than the development of any one formula.

It is immediately clear that most formulae contained in the body of the decree begin with the infinitive. Several reasons might be put forward to explain this e.g. (i) what we have in the decree is really a list of provisions made by the People, and these infinitives serve as labels to point the beginning of each provision.

(ii) these infinitives frequently are imperatival, and an imperative naturally tends to come at the beginning of its clause.

However, in certain cases the infinitive does not come first, and in these cases we must discover: (i) in the case of a formula which usually does begin with the infinitive, if it is being violated or if there is some other factor to explain the lack of adherence.

(ii) why certain formulae

in which the infinitive does not come first are always expressed in that order,

First of all, consider the formulae in which the simple infinitives follow straight on from εἰδοῦν or δεδούχθαι, without the subject being expressed:-

1. ἐπαινέσαι : perhaps the commonest Athenian favour was 'praise'. The formula which expresses it is almost invariably in the same form, the only variable being the occurrence or non-occurrence of the connective 'and', depending on whether praise is the first item on the list or not. Therefore, the possibilities are:-

- a) εἰδοῦν / δεδούχθαι to do { καὶ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δεῖνα
ἐπαινέσαι δὲ τὸν δεῖνα
- b) εἰδοῦν / δεδούχθαι ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δεῖνα
- c) ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν δεῖνα.

The original number of possible formulations of the praise-theme is very limited. The skeleton is simply: praise X. As I have said above, the natural - and one might go as far as to say the only - position for the infinitive is right at the beginning of the clause. Then, of course, comes the object, and so the only choice is between δὲ and καὶ. Thus, we have here a ready-made formula, so to speak.

But in 1 instance only, viz. 450.a.9ff.(314/3), I find not 'praise X.' but 'X. praise'. This seems at first sight to be a clear-cut ex. of another possible formulation of the praise-theme,

which has been chosen by the secretary in preference to the usual formulation. But is there some other factor which made it necessary, not merely possible, to have this different word order? Consider the context: Ὁρασανῆς Νεβουκράτο[υ] ὁ ἐπὶ εὐρίστοι εἶπεν: δεδόχθαι τῷ δῆμῳ Ἰασανόρον Ἀγάθωνος Μασεδόνα· ἐπαινέσαι ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς καὶ. In the normal honorary decree after the prescript i.e. immediately after εἶπεν comes an ἐπεὶ δὲ-clause: 'whereas X. son of Y. from Z. has done all the following meritorious deeds, be it resolved ἐπαινέσαι αὐτόν'. But in this decree the reasons for the praise come not before it but after, and so, in order to let the honorand's name be known, to let it be clear who is being praised, his name is expressed in full in the praise-formula and before the verb ἐπαινέσαι. This, then, is an unusual type, and that probably explains the violation of the formula.

2. καλέσαι: the second favour is an invitation to dinner at public expense in the κρυπτονεῖον. The skeleton is: invite-guest-nature of entertainment-place-time. This invitation-formula (1) has been examined by W. A. McDonald, who shows that there are 2 ways of introducing the formula:- Type 1, which is a new sentence beginning καλέσαι δέ; Type 2, which is a provision included in the same sentence with a number of other honours, introduced by καὶ καλέσαι. In the only exception to this working rule

(1) 'Linguistic Examination of an Epigraphic Formula', AJA, LIX, (1955), pp.151ff.

viz. I².116.41-43.(409/8) τὸς δὲ πρὸς [εἰς καὶ] Ἀπολ-
 [λόμενον κ]αλέσαι ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἢ [καὶ χσέν]τα ὃ [εἰς
 αὐτὸν] we find the Article of a compound object as first
 word, then δὲ, then the rest of the object, and the verb as
 third element.

McDonald further states that the statistics show a ratio of
 21:3 for Type 1:Type 2 in the 5th century, but 34:46 in the 4th.
 century. He finds too that the third element is usually the
 direct object, if expressed, especially if it is a pronoun - 28
 cases out of 30 evenly divided between both Types, the 2 exceptions
 being very doubtful restorations. In both Types the phrase ἐκ
 εἰς / δεῖκνον is regularly the fourth element. And to com-
 plete the analysis he shows that 10 exx. of Type 1, as well as 2
 of the 3 5th century occurrences of Type 2, do not conform to the
 norm i.e. object, if present, third element; ἐκ δεῖκνον
 fourth. In this group we find these reversed. One in fact has
 the object in **fifth** place, after εἰς πρυτανεῖον. In 7 of
 the 12 exx. the reason is clear: the object is compound (up to 14
 words), and this would unduly separate the object and the prep-
 ositional phrase which is so closely connected to it in sense.
 But this does not explain the other 5, nor should it be overlooked
 that there are many other exx. where a long compound object is
 third element.

I am not at all surprised that the 2 occurrences of Type 2
 which do not conform to the norm are 5th century. And I would be

prepared to make a guess that most of the other inexplicable renegades are of an early date when there was still some variety in formulation. Some variety, however, can still be expected even after one formulation has emerged as the formula.

It is clear that in I².116 there is also a change of sequence among the last 3 elements of the formula. Just enough letters of the last 2 elements are legible on the stone to enable one to be quite sure that they do occur there and in that order. It is, therefore, evident that we are here dealing with a variation on the theme, for which the only explanation may be that the secretary wanted a little variety. McDonald himself says in a footnote: "This is a good ex. of a noticeable degree of variety in 5th. century documents as compared with increasing regularity in the 4th".⁽¹⁾ And this is just what I would expect: experimentation with the possible formulations in the earlier period with the gradual emergence of 1 predominant formula. And again, apart from the secretary's whim, it is noticeable in this decree that up to this point no mention has been made of τοὺς πρέσβεις ; there has only been a list of honours for Apollodoros. This may have helped to change the normal order of the words, for, if the formula began with καὶ ἐστὶ δὲ , one would expect a reference to Apollodoros alone.

3. στεφάνου : the third provision is the allocation of a crown. Crowns might be of olive, myrtle, ivy or even gold. These are all

(1) op. cit., p.153, footnote 20.

introduced by καὶ στεφανῶσαι, and the basic form is: crown - him - type of crown. One finds the following formulae:-

καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοῦ στεφάνωι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον / ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν χρυσοῦ στεφάνωι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν μυρρίνης στεφάνωι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν κίττου στεφάνωι

The person honoured is usually - but see below - expressed by a pronoun, if mentioned at all, and the order of the formula is καὶ - στεφανῶσαι - (pronoun) - crown-material - στεφάνωι.

This seems to be a case of what one might call internal formulaic interaction. The original type was, let us say, of olive (θαλλοῦ) and the predominant formulation came to be in the order crown-material - στεφάνωι, perhaps because στεφάνωι can easily be predicted out of στεφανῶσαι. Then, when different materials became the fashion, they replaced the olive but they had to be content with the place allocated in the crown-formula to the material used.

After the infinitive regularly comes the pronoun αὐτόν / αὐτούς; and we also find the phrases ἕκαστον / ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν and τούτων ἕκαστον (for which see B.2.a and b. above).

On the other hand in 505,50-51,(302/1) we find

καὶ στεφανῶσαι πολλοῦ [στεφ] | ἐν [ω] | ἐκότερον αὐτῶν

i.e. the object does not come immediately after the infinitive.

The only explanation is chance. The object ought to come after the infinitive, but for some reason or other it has been postponed.

It should always be remembered that, although one formulation may be almost exclusively used, that does not mean that

it alone is 'correct' and the others 'incorrect'. The choice is there, but usually the strength of the formula presents the answer

ready-made.

Note that there are 2 exx. in which the object is not a pronoun but the actual name of the honorand, and in both cases this name comes at the end of the formula:-

καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσ[ω] | στεφάνω | κατὰ τὸν νόμον

Ἀλκαῖον [Η] | [ραίου Αἰνι] ον 495.20-22,(303/2)

καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσ[ω] | στεφάνω | κατὰ τὸν νόμον Σόλωνα

[21] | τράτωνος Βοργυλιήτην 507.6-8,(c.302/1)

In the latter the prescript and part of the ἐπειδὴ-clause are

lost; but in the former inscr. Ἀλκαῖος ῥαίου Αἰνιός

has already been mentioned by name at ll.10-11. This may, therefore,

be connected with what I have suggested in Section C above about not

putting the subject of a clause before the verb if the subject is

already known. So here, the object, which has already been stated

above, is left to the end of the formula.

I now leave the infinitives which run straight on from some part of *δοκεῖν* and turn to the types where the subject of the infinitive is expressed in the Accusative in Oratio Obliqua - 'resolve that X. should do the following'. These can be grouped conveniently in the following categories:-

Infinitive - Object - Subject (I-O-S)

Infinitive - Subject - Object (I-S-O)

Infinitive - Subject (I-S)

Infinitive - Infinitive (I-I).

I-O-S:- Most Attic decrees contain a clause towards the end instructing the secretary to have the decree inscribed on a stone stele. Here are the various formulations:

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τῆς βουλῆς
ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν ἀναγραφέα ἐν στήλῃ
λιθίνῃ.

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τὸν κατὰ
πρυτανεῖαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματεῖα τοῦ δήμου
ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ.

But cf.:

ὅπως ἂν δὲ καὶ πρόμνημα ᾖ τὸν γραμματεῖα
τὸν [κατὰ π]ρυτανεῖαν ἀναγράφαι τόδε τὸ:

ψήφισμα | [ἐν στήλῃ] ἡλῆι λιθίνῃ

653.50-54.(285/4)

τὸν δὲ γραμματέα τοῦ δ[ήμου ἀναγράφαι τὸ] [δ] εἰς τὸ

ψήφισμα] καὶ τὰ δνόματα τῶν ἐπιδόντων

ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ | εἰ 791.22-24.(247/6)

It is clear that the predominant formulation is I-O-S - although before the middle of the 4th century O-I-S was quite common e.g. I².118.20-23.(408/7); II².109.24-26.(363/2). In the first of the 2 'exceptions' one obvious difference between it and the others is that there is no connective, since it follows on after a Final Clause. If that is not enough to influence the formulation, then one must simply assume that here we have an ex. of a grammatically possible formulation which lost the fight against the established formula. It may be significant that the second ex. continues with a Final Clause, but I think it is safest to assume that these are both alternative formulations which have survived from the period when no one formulation had emerged as the formula.

These 2 'exceptions' are S-I-O, which is the sequence of the proedroi and prytaneis formulae, as I shall show below. The interesting thing is that in 507.12-14.(c.302/1) the prytaneis formula occurs in the order I-O-S. Is this formulaic interaction?

The I-O-S theme is further influenced by the ἐκτελεστικοῦ type, which shows the following formulations:-

ἐπιμελεσθαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν τε βουλὴν τὴν αὖτ' βουλευουσάν
καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς

ἐπιμελεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐκγόνων τὴν βουλὴν τὴν αὖτ'
βουλευουσάν καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς.

cf. συνεπιμεληθῆναι δὲ τῆς ἀν[αγρ]| αὐτῆς τοὺς φίλους
καὶ τοὺς οἰκεῖους 448.72-73.(318/7).

But cf.:

τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς / τὸν
ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει

τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τοῦ στεφάνου καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως
ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς / τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει

In these last 2 exx., where provision is made for the making and
proclaiming of the crown, the sequence is O-I-S, unlike the first
3 exx. where care of the person is expressed in the order I-O-S.

Now, as I have discussed above (see A.2 and B.3), anaphoric αὐτόν
is postpositive and tends to come early in its clause. Likewise,
adverbial καὶ phrases normally appear at the beginning of the
clause. These 2 points, then, cover the first 2 exx. And it is
also true to say that pronoun objects occur much more frequently
in this type of expression and no doubt influence the position of
variations with objects such as 'his offspring' when there is no
adverbial καὶ present.

However, it does seem that the former group was considered

different in nature from the latter, and consequently we find different formulations. The reason for the word order in the latter may well be to divide the long noun-complexes by the infinitive.

I-S-0: Various officials were responsible for allocating funds to defray the expenses of inscribing the stone. There are the following formulations:-

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

δοῦναι

τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου - δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν

(εἰς τὰ) κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων

τῷ δήμῳ.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

δοῦναι / μερίσαι

τὸν / τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει - δραχμὰς

ἐκ τῶν (εἰς τὰ) κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκ-

ομένων τῷ δήμῳ.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

δοῦναι

τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου - δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν

κοινῶν χρημάτων.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

δοῦναι

τὸν ἐξεταστήν καὶ τοὺς τριττυάρχους - δραχμὰς.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

δοῦναι

τοὺς τριττυάρχους καὶ τὸν ἐξεταστήν =
δραχμὰς ἐκ τῶν (εἰς τὰ) κατὰ ψηφίσματα
ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποίησιν

μερίσαι

τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γινόμενον
ἀνάλωμα.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης

μερίσαι

τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γινόμενον
ἀνάλωμα.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ
τῇ διοικήσει τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάλωμα.

Contrast the following exx. of O-I-S:-

τὸ δὲ γινόμενον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς εἰσέως
καὶ τῆς στήλης

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τοῦς
ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει.

τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.

τὸ δὲ γενόμενον εἰς αὐτὴν ἀνάλωμα

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.

τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γενόμενον εἰς τὴν ἀνάθεσιν καὶ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν.

τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ γενόμενον εἰς τε τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν
ἀναγραφὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων

μερίσαι

τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει.

Cf. also the following 2 exx. of S-I-O:-

τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν

μερίσαι

τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα κατὰ τὴν διάταξιν.

844.66-67. (193/2)

τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν

μερίσαι

τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν

τῆς στήλης. 950.22-23.(165/4).

The evidence is quite clear that I-S-O was originally the predominant formulation. It is only after τὸ γενόμενον ἀνέλωμα has come into use - from the beginning of the 3rd. century onwards - that alternative sequences begin to appear, until in the 2nd. century we even find the subject in the initial position.

Note how in the O-I-S and S-I-O formulations the long noun-complexes are separated by the infinitive: cf. the ἐπιμελεῖσθαι type above.

A second ex. of I-S-O is the χειροτονῆσαι type:-
χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον - ἄνδρες δὲ Ἀθηναίων πάντων
cf. διαχειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον ὁπόσον δεῖ αὐτοῖς
μερίσαι 674.18.(273/2).

This formula occurs very frequently, and I feel that the ex. I have set underneath for comparison must have been influenced by it. Cf. also

στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν δῆμον καὶ | εἰκόνα χολκῆν

682.80-81.(c.256/5)

This ex. has already been considered under adverbial καὶ (see B.3 above). Apart from what I have said there and the fact that anaphoric αὐτόν tends towards the beginning of its clause, I would here add that there may well have been some influence from the χειροτονῆσαι τὸν δῆμον type.

I-S: Most of the exx. of this type are introduced by the imperatival infinitive εἶναι i.e. 'may he be ... / may something be to him (may he have ...)'. There are the following formulations:-

καὶ εἶναι αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἐκγόνου αὐτοῦ

εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ

εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέτην τοῦ δήμου

τοῦ Ἀθηναίων

εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον Ἀθηναίων

εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ προξένους καὶ

εὐεργέτας τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων

εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν ἡπασιν τοῖς ἁγῶσιν

εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ αἰκίας ἔγκτησιν

καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς σέτησιν ἐν πρυτανείᾳ καὶ ἐκγόνων δὲ

τῷ πρεσβυτάτῳ καὶ προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς

ἁγῶσι

It is very clear that here there is formulaic interaction at work, and it is not too difficult to discover the reason for the basic sequence: the imperatival infinitive comes first, as one might expect; δὲ must appear next (καὶ, of course, will precede εἶναι); and thirdly comes the anaphoric pronoun. These 3 items almost have to occupy the first 3 positions, and next we must be told what the honour in question is. Therefore, in actual fact there is little room for variety.

I have found only 1 possible exception to the rule viz.

εἶναι δὲ Μικαλῶνα καὶ [τοὺς ἐκγ][ό]νους αὐτοῦ
 προξένους καὶ [εὐεργέτ][α]ς τοῦ δήμου τοῦ
 Ἀθηναίων καὶ γῆς καὶ [οἰκίας] ἐκκτησιν εἶναι
 αὐτοῖς κατ[ὰ] τὸν νόμον.

H. XIII. 242, 7, 10ff. (301-294.f.).

The explanation may be that the sculptor was confused by the proximity of the 2 different types of εἶναι provision, so that he wrote καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐκκτησιν before he realised that he needed another εἶναι.

Cf. also the formulae which use ὑπάρχειν instead of εἶναι :

ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐκκ[α]τῆσιν 835.26. (pp. 229.h.)

ὑπάρχειν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ποταμὴν | [κ]ροξενίαν καὶ
 τοῖς ἐκγόνοις. 844.67-68. (193/2)

and cf.

δίδοσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ | καὶ πολιτεῖαν 850.14-15. (197/6).

I-I: It is now an easy step to the Infinitive-Infinitive type.

Many formulae begin: 'let it be allowed to X. to do this and that'.

This is introduced by ἐξεῖναι or εἶναι, and the formulations bear a strong resemblance to each other and to the other εἶναι types:-

ἐξεῖναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰκόνα στήσαι αὐτοῦ

καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ γράψασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας

ἥς ἂν βούληται κατὰ τὸν νόμον

But cf.

εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Ἀθηναῖον καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δῆμ[ο]υ
καὶ φρατρ[είας εἶναι] | [ο]ὕτῳ δδουσιδασσθαι ἥς
ἂν β[ο]ύληται | 553.13-15. (c.307.f.)

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο ἄγαθόν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου
οὗτον ἂν δοκῇ ἄξιός εἶναι
εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ διατηροῦντι τὴν αἵρεσιν εὐρέσθαι παρὰ
τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἄλλο ἄγαθόν οὗτον ἂν δοκῇ ἄξιός
εἶναι

cf.

εἶναι δ[ὲ] αὐτὸν καὶ πρόξενον καὶ εὐ[εργέ]την τοῦ
δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων, καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ τὴν
αὐτὴν | αἵρε[σιν] διατηροῦντι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον
καὶ ἄλλο ἄγαθόν εὐρέσθαι | [ο]ὗτον ἂν εἴ ἄξιός.
908.14-17. (b.181-170.h.).

The exception in the second group quoted above contains an
ἄπαξ λεγόμενον viz. δδουσιδασσθαι . But, apart from
this, I think the explanation of the word order is that the 2
meanings of εἶναι viz. 'be' and 'be permitted' have been at
first confused, although later on εἶναι αὐτῷ are added.
Cf. the following ex. where a single εἶναι serves for both
provisions:

καὶ εἶναι [α]ὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον καὶ ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ | καὶ

γράφασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ [ἵ] φρατρίας ἧς ἐν
βούληται κατὰ τὸν ν) ὅμον· 507,8-12,(c.302/1).

Note how ἀδουσιάζασθαι comes after εἶναι αὐτῷ , just as
γράφασθαι always does.

In the third group of exx., if the formula contains a part-
icipial phrase in agreement with αὐτῷ , this phrase displaces
καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εἶρεσθαι , presumably because of its
conditional function i.e. it serves as a protasis. In the third
ex. quoted εἶναι is again serving 2 purposes and αὐτῷ is
understood out of αὐτόν.

It seems, therefore, that an εἶναι in the immediately
previous provision can disturb the word order of the following
εἶναι provision either (i) by postponing the second εἶναι
to the second possible position; thus instead of
καὶ εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀδουσιάζασθαι καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου κτλ.
we find

καὶ φυλῆς καὶ δήμου καὶ φρατρίας || εἶναι αὐτῷ ἀδουσιάζασθαι
and instead of

καὶ εἶναι αὐτοῖς γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν
we find

καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν || εἶναι αὐτοῖς (see I-S above)

or (ii) by causing the omission of the
second εἶναι and the postponement of its associated infinitive
to the second possible position; thus instead of
εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν τὴν αὐτὴν εἴρεσιν

διατηροῦντι πρὸς τὸν δῆμον καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι
we find

καὶ εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν αἵρεσιν διατηροῦντι πρὸς
τὸν δῆμον || καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν εὐρέσθαι

These are all the exx. of the types in which the infinitive comes first. It is clear, I think, that, although the original formulation of each type depended to some extent on syntactical and logical factors, there was usually some room for variety. Yet very stereotyped patterns emerged with a strong interaction. What then of formulaic expressions which do not begin with the infinitive? Why has this formulaic interaction not affected them?

S-I-O: Consider first the type which has the sequence Subject-Infinitive-Object. This is exemplified by the proedroi-formula, which always follows immediately after an imperatival infinitive δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ :

τοὺς προέδρους οἱ | τινες ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ
δῆμῳ εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν | χρηματίσαι περὶ
τούτων, γνώμην δὲ | συμβάλλεσθαι τῆς βουλῆς εἰς
τὸν δῆμον 500.21-26.(302/1)

τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχω | σιν προεδρεύειν εἰς τὴν
ἐκιοῦ | σαν ἐκκλησίαν προσαγαγεῖν τὸν [ο]ἰκεῖον
τῆς ἱερείας καὶ χρηματίσαι | περὶ τούτων, γνώμην
δὲ κτλ. 659.14-18.(283/2)

τοὺ | [ς πρ]οεδ[ρο]υς οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύειν ἐν τῷ | [ι

δῆμωι ε]ίς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἐκκλησίαν προσαγα|[γεῖ]ν
αὐτο[ύς] περ[ὶ] τοῦ δῆμον καὶ χρηματούσαι, γ|[νωμῆ]ν κτλ.

661.10-14, (267/6).

I think that τοὺς προέδρους displaces the infinitive in this type, because, if the infinitive came first immediately after δεδῶχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, the meaning would appear to be: 'be it resolved by the Council to do ...', which is nonsense. Therefore, the subject of the infinitive cannot be delayed, and so we have a type of formulation which is not influenced by the type in which the infinitive comes first.

Cf. also the πρυτάνεις formulae:-

τοὺς [δὲ π|[ρ]υτάνεις τοὺς μετὰ τὴν Ἀντιοχ|ίδα πρυ-
τανεύοντας δοῦναι περ|[ὶ] αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον εἰς τὴν
πρώτη|ν ἐκκλησίαν. 393.4-8. (b.321/0 - 319/8)

τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἰκ|[ρο]θωντίδος δοῦναι περὶ
αὐτοῦ τὴν |[ψ]ῆφον τῷ δῆμωι εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκ-|
κλησίαν. 508.6-9. (f.s.iv.*)

(*For ζ > ς before τ, see PH.II.B.6.a.(i).)

τοὺς | δὲ πρυτάνεις τοὺς τὴν εἰσιούσαν | πρυτανεῖαν πρυ-
τανεύοντας δοῦν|αι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον τῷ δῆμωι |
εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλησίαν. 558.21-25. (c.303/2.h.)

τοὺς δὲ πρυτάνεις οἱ ἂν [π]|ρώτον λάχωσιν πρυτανεύειν
δ[ο]ῦναι περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ψῆφον εἰς [τ]|ῇμ πρώτῃν
ἐκκλησίαν, 654.50-53. (285/4).

But cf.

δοῦναι δὲ καὶ τὴν ψῆφον περὶ [α] | ὅτου τοὺς πρυτάνεις
εἰς τὴν πρώτην | ἐκκλησίαν 507.12-14. (c.302/1).

This πρυτάνεις type is thus built along exactly the same lines as the proedroi formulae. But not for the same reason: for the preceding clause is not δεδῶχθαι τῇ βουλῇ, but the formulae εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν Ἀθηναῖον κτλ. and εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ γράψασθαι φυλῆς κτλ. The reason for putting the subject first is probably to indicate that δοῦναι is not dependent on εἶναι αὐτῷ.

The one 'exception' may have been affected by the ἀναγράφαι type, as I suggested above, or may simply be a variation on the theme.

Cf. also the following formulae:

τὸν δὲ ἀρχιτέκτονα κατανέμειν αὐτοῖς τὴν θέαν
καὶ τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ... προγράψαι αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν
τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν
and cf. the following ex. which is not, strictly speaking, a
formula, but follows the pattern of this type very closely:

τοὺς ἀστυνόμους τοὺς δεῖ λαχόντας, , παρα-
σκευάζειν εἰς κἀθαρσι [γ] | τοῦ ἱεροῦ περιστερῶν καὶ
περιαλε [τ] | [α] | τοὺς βωμοὺς καὶ πιτυῶσαι τὰς [δ] - |
[ροφᾶς] καὶ λοῦσαι τὰ ἔδη. 659.20-26. (283/2).

O-I-S and O-I: This group has neither the subject nor the infinitive

first but begins with the object. These expressions involve

μὲν οὕτως :

ὅτι δοκεῖ τεῖ βουλευτῇ, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δεῦροδεσθαι [αἱ] τὴν
βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον ἃ φασιν γεγονέναι [αἱ] ἐν τοῖς
ἑσπερίοις οἷς ἔθουον ἐφ' ὕψις καὶ σὺν [ἐκεί]ναι τῆς
βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [αἱ] εἰσὶν
ἐθνούς καὶ φίλοι τοῦ δήμου. ἐπειδὴ [οὕτως] οἱ ἐπι-
μεληταὶ κτλ. 661.15ff.(267/6)

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ [αἱ], τὰ μὲν ἃ]γαθὰ δεῦροδεσθαι
τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἑσπερίοις οἷς ἔθουον
ἐπειδὴ οὕτως ὁ ἀγωνοθέτης κτλ. 780.8ff.(252/1)

cf.

δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα [αἱ] πρᾶττειν περὶ τῆς
δωρεᾶς ἧς εἴτημεν | θαῖδος .. | .., τοὺς δὲ θεσμοθέτας
εἰσαγαγεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν δοκιμασίαν τῆς δωρεᾶς εἰς τὸ
δικαστῆριον κατὰ τὸν νόμον. 682.93ff.(c.256/5)

cf. also the usual way of introducing an amendment:

τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ βουλῇ. ἐπειδὴ οὕτως κτλ.

Why, then, does the infinitive not occupy the first place?

I think the explanation is something like this: if the intention here was to balance the 2 infinitives - (i.e. the infinitive in the μὲν clause and the infinitive which comes after the ἐπειδὴ clause) - almost certainly, other things being equal, the infinitives would come first. Likewise, if the contrast was between 2 different bodies who were responsible for the provisions, they

would come first. But here μέν rather contrasts the whole clause with a further provision which is to come.

The last ex., which is the stock way of introducing an amendment - 'X. made the proposal; let the other points remain as decided by the Council; but whereas, let this be done' - probably influenced and was influenced by the other formulations.

I now turn again to the Sub-Unit decrees and consider the formulae which express their provisions. I follow the order which I used in examining the provisions of State decrees.

1. ἐπαινεῖσαι : this is a frequent provision made in Sub-Unit decrees. Unlike State documents, they tend to express the name of the honorand in full rather than use a pronoun: e.g.

ἐπαινεῖσαι θελωνίδην καλλίμαχου [ς] κονουλήθεν

1159.16-17.U.(303/2)

ἐπαινεῖσαι θεότιμον θεοδώρου ῥαμνοῦστον

S.XV.113.20-21.U.(215/4).

In both of these exx. the ἐπελθῆ clause has preceded the provision and already given the name. These exx. are, therefore, not connected with 450.a.9ff.(314/3), for which see the section on State decrees above.

2. στεφανῶσαι : members of Sub-Units do not appear to have sent out invitations to dinner (καλέσαι), but were fairly

partial to conferring crowns: e.g.

καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν νόμον

καὶ στεφανῶσαι μυρρίνης στεφάνῳι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι ὀρυζος στεφάνῳι

καὶ στεφανῶσαι ξικαστὸν αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳι.

cf.

στεφ|ανῶσαι τὸν ἀρχερα [ν]ίστην Σώφρονα θαλλοῦ στε|φάνῳι

καὶ λημ[ν]ίσκῳι 1297.9-11.U.(237/6)

καὶ στεφα|νῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳι [κατὰ] τὸν νόμον

καὶ εἰκό|νι χαλκεῖ, 1304.43-45.U.(pp.211/10)

καὶ στεφ[αν]|[ῶσαι] χρυσοῦ στεφάνῳι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν

1316.15-16.U.(272/1)

καὶ |στεφανῶσαι ἑκάτερον αὐτῶν |κιττοῦ στεφάνῳι

1320.8-10.U.(p.245.s.)

καὶ |στεφανῶσαι καὶ τούτων ξικαστὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳι

1322.23-24.U.(p.179.s.).

The first 5 of these exx. follow the State pattern. In the 6th and 7th there is a double honour; in the 6th 'to crown the archeranistes Sophron with a crown of olive and with a woollen fillet'; in the 7th 'and to crown him with a golden crown according to the law and (to honour him) with a statue of bronze'. The 8th ex. is identical with the word order of 505.50-51.(302/1) - see

section on State decrees above - which seems to show that this is an alternative sequence. Contrast the 9th ex. where 'each of them' occupies the more usual position. For the 10th ex. see above on State decrees, and also see B.2.b. above.

I-O-9: ἀναγράφαι : the Sub-Unit decree also makes provision for its recording on stone. In this case it is not a person like the secretary of the Council who is entrusted with the task, but various personages of responsibility who held office in the Sub-Unit. Sometimes, too, there is no indication given as to who is to be responsible for the inscription. But the important fact remains the same i.e. the formulation is identical with that of the State decree:-

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦς ἐπιμεληταῖς τῆς φυλῆς
ἐν στήλαις λιθίναις

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν δήμαρχον ἐν στήλῃ
λιθίνῃ

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦς ἐπιμεληταῖς τοῦς μετὰ
τὸν δεῖνα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα ἐν στήλῃ
λιθίνῃ

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦς ὀργεῶνας ἐν στήλῃ
λιθίνῃ

ἀναγράφαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα εἰς στήλην

λιθίνην.

These formulations are obviously of the same type as those of the State decree. However, there is one variation which occurs several times viz. the transposition of 'on a stele of stone' from the end of the formula to the position after 'this decree': e.g.

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην τὸν

δημάρχον καὶ τοὺς ταμίαις

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει τὸν ταμίαν

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην τὸν

γραμματεῖα

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ τοῦς

ἐπιμεληταῖς

Cf. also:

ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὴν μέσθωσιν ταύτην ἐν στήλει λιθίνῃ

τοῦς φρατρίδρχους

1241.53-55.υ.(300/299).

This transposition occurs throughout the whole of my period.

There is 1 other 'exception' viz.

ἵνα δὲ καὶ ὁ [κόμνη]μα ὑπάρχει τῆς τε 'Ἐπικλέους καλο-

καγα[οί]|α[ς] καὶ τῆς τοῦ δήμου εὐχ[αριστίας],

τὸν γραμματεῖα τοῦ δήμου ἀναγράψαι τὸ[δε] | τὸ

ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθ[ίνην] 1223.15-17.υ.(p.179.s.).

This is curiously reminiscent of the 2 exx. I quoted above under State decrees, which also have the Final Clause. It is almost identical with 653.50-54.(285/4).

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι : the other I-O-S formula which I examined for State decrees was the ἐπιμελεῖσθαι type. I showed there that care of the honorand was always expressed in the order I-O-S, whereas care of the making of the crown etc. was in the order O-I-S. Sub-Unit documents provide striking confirmation of the predominance of this latter type of formulation: e.g.

τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς στρατηγοὺς καὶ
τοὺς δει. πεμπομένους θεωροῦς

τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς
ἄρχοντας τοὺς δει. καθισταμένους

τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τῆς στήλης καὶ τῆς ἀναθέσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι
τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν γενῶν

τῆς δὲ ἀναγραφῆς καὶ τῆς ποιήσεως τῆς στήλης καὶ τῆς
ἀναγορεύσεως τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς
αἰρεθέντας ἐπὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς εἰκόνης

τῆς δὲ ποιήσεως τῆς εἰκόνης καὶ τῆς ἀναγορεύσεως ἐπι-
μεληθῆναι τὸν γραμματεῖα καὶ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ τοὺς
ἡιρημένους

τῆς δὲ ἀναγραφῆς ἐπιμεληθῆναι τὸν ταμίαν

But cf.

καὶ ἐπι [μελ]ηθῆναι τῆς ἀναθέσεως καὶ ἀναγραφῆς τοῦ
ψηφίσματος [τος τοῦ]ς αὐτοὺς τοῦτους

1322.25-27.U.(p.179.s.).

It is strange that this one exception is the only ex. of this type of formulation which uses καὶ instead of δέ. There

appears to be no other unusual feature to account for the change of sequence.

I have found only 1 ex. of the provision for care of a person viz.

ἐπειδὴ δὲ συμβαίνει Ἀντισθένης θυγατέρα εἶναι ἐπίκληρον
ἐκ τῶν νόμων γεγεννημένην, τοὺς ἐπιμελητὰς τοὺς αὖτε
καθισταμένους κατ' ἐνταῦτον ἐπιμελεῖσθαι Ἀριστομ-
άχης τῆς Ἀντισθένου θυγατρὸς,

1165.30-33.U.(300-250.μ).

This is neither I-O-S nor O-I-S, but S-I-O. Unlike the exx. quoted in the section above on State decrees there is no connective here, but apart from that I can see no particular reason to change the word order.

I-S-O: The first of my I-S-O exx. in State decrees concerned the paying out of money by the treasurers of various funds to defray the cost of having the stele inscribed and set up. Similar provision was made by the Sub-Units:-

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν

εἰς δὲ τὴν κοίτησιν καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν

μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν

εἰσενεγκεῖν

τοὺς νομοφύλακας

Gf.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς στήλης

δοῶτω

ὁ ἄρχων - δραχμὰς ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου.

Contrast the following ex. of O-I-S :-

τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ὅτι ἀν
γίνεται.

δοῦναι

τοὺς ἐπαρχοὺς

τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα εἰς τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν
μερίσαι

τὸν ταμίαν

Gf.

τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα τὸ τε εἰς τὸν πέντακα γενόμενον καὶ εἰς τὴν
στήλην

μερίσαι ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στήλης τὸ γεν-
όμενον ἀνάλωμα

μερίσαι ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ.

Gf. also the following ex. of S-I-O :-

τὸν δὲ ταμίαν τὸν ἐπὶ ἡγεμάρχου ἄρχοντος

δοῦναι

τὸ ἀργύριον εἰς τὸ ἀνάθημα 1263.31-33.Π.(300/299).

And cf. the following ex. of I-O-S:-

εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῆς στήλης

μερῶς

τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα

τῶν ταμῶν

1325.31-32,U.(185/4).

Note that the O-I-S exx. all have τὸ (γενόμενον) ἀνάλωμα as the object (see above on State decrees). Note too that the S-I-O ex. is from the very beginning of the 3rd century, whereas the 2 State exx. of this sequence are in the 2nd century,

I-S: The pattern is again the same as that of the State decree: e.g.

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προσδρίαν

εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ ἀτέλειαν τοῦ πλοῦ εἰς τὸ μετὰ ταῦτα.

I-I: Similar to the State provision we find

εἶναι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἄλλο ὀφειλὸν εὑρεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ ποινοῦ.

These are all the Sub-Unit parallels, for there are no comparable formulae in Sub-Unit decrees which do not begin with the infinitive. I think, however, that the exx. I have quoted are sufficient to show just how formulaic the provisions made in decrees are.

In conclusion, therefore, what factors determine what shall

be the formulation of any given idea or utterance? In my opinion they are as follows:-

1. the grammatical nature of the language e.g. postpositives must usually have their pride of place near the beginning of their clause.
2. the type of document in question. Attic decrees list various measures which have been decided upon. The natural way to do this is to begin with the operative word - if the other factors permit this.
3. chance. When the first 2 factors have played their part, several alternative formulations have appeared, and the next stage is when by chance one of these becomes used much more frequently than the others and becomes a formula.
4. internal formulaic interaction. This is the process by which variations of expression within one formula - e.g. different materials used in making a crown - influence each other. The actual sequence or pattern remains the same, but a word is replaced by another of similar function.
5. external formulaic interaction. This is the process by which formulae influence the development of other formulae of similar nature.
6. By a sort of circular process, a formula which has exerted its influence on one or more similar developing expressions is itself influenced by them once they have become formulae.

But even when these 6 factors have operated and produced a

formula, the alternatives which have not predominated can still be used. A formula is the usual or regular mode of expression; but the alternative formulations are still possibilities in that they violate no rule of language, although it is unusual or irregular to employ them.

F. Sepulchral Formulae:

I here deal with the formulae contained in Private Sepulchral inscr. In IG these are divided into 4 classes viz. Athenian citizens, ἰσοτελεῖς, Foreigners, and Homines Originis Incertae. While adhering to these divisions to some extent, I propose to examine the formulae employed under 2 main headings:-

1. formulae without χαῖρε or χρηστός
2. formulae with χαῖρε or χρηστός.

N.B. The abbreviations used to indicate the type of the exx. quoted are as follows:-

π = an unique ex.

A. = Athenians.

NA. = non-Athenians i.e. foreigners.

I. = ἰσοτελεῖς.

1. Formulae without χαῖρε or χρηστός :

Type 1: A. son of B. from C.

a) the stock formula is: A. (son) of B. from C. e.g.

Προκλαδέης Φιλοκλέους *Αγγελῆθεν	5238.(f.s.iii.?)
*Αγάθων *Αγάθωνο [ς] *Αγ[κυρα]ν[ός].	7884.(p.317/6.κ)
cf. Κριτόδημος Κρίτωνος Ἰσοτελής.	7871.(s.iii.κ).

b) almost as common is: A. from C. :-

15 exx. of A. e.g.

Δώστρατος *Αλωπεκῆθεν.	5578.(p.179.s.)
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94 exx. of NA e.g.

Μνημων *Αγκυρεῖτης.	7921.(s.iii/ii.κ)
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of. 7 exx. of I e.g.

*Αγάθων Ἰσοτελής.	7862.(s.ii.κ).
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c) the other variations are:-

(i) * A. (adopted son) of B. from C., and by birth (son) of D.

Φιλῖνος Διοφάντου Πειραιεύς, γόνυ δὲ *Αριστομένου.	7194.(p.f.s.iv.κ).
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(ii) * A. (son) of B. from C. profession.

Μηνόδοτος *Εστιαίου Σφήττιος κωμωιδός.	7524.(p.f.s.iv.κ).
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(iii) * A. from C. profession.

Δη[μῆας] Εουτάδης παιδαγωγ[ός].	S.XVI.190.(s.iii/ii.κ).
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(iv) * A. from C. from D.

Μεταλλος *Αχαιός δὲ Αἰγᾶς.	8404.(in.s.iii.κ).
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of. * A. (son) of B. from C. from D.

Θαρριάδας Θρονήμονος Κρής *Οἰεῖος.	9087.(s.iii.κ).
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(v) A. (son) of B.

15 exx. e.g.

*Αλέξανδρος | Ποσειδῶντος. 10,627/8.(p.197.s.).

(vi) * A. of B. profession (of B.) son.

Θράσιππος | Θρασίππου | Ἀρτοκόπου | υἱός. 11,681.(p.f.s.iv.*).

(vii) A. This is very common e.g.

Αγύθων. 10,554.(pa.317.).

(viii) * (Tomb) of A.

Νικάνδρου. 12,249.(f.s.iv.*).

Type 2: X. daughter of Y. from Z.

a) the stock formula is: X. of Y. from Z. daughter. (Note that Z. agrees in case with Y.) e.g.

Θιλοκράτεια | *Αγαθομίδους | Αἰξωνέως | θυγάτηρ. 5447.(s.iii/ii.*)

Χαίρεσσστράτη | Διονυσίου | *Αλεξανδρέως | θυγάτηρ. 8036.(p.197.s.).

b) X. of Y. daughter from Z. (Note that Z. agrees with X.)

Only 1 ex. of A viz.

[Θ]εΐδουλλα | Θιλένου θυγάτηρ | *Ανκυληθεν. 5257.(s.iii.*)

3 exx. of NA e.g.

Ματα [...]α | *Θαδοῦου | θυγάτηρ | Δαρδανίς. 8476.(s.ii.*).

cf. * X. from Z. of Y. daughter.

Θελίστα | Μιλησία | Διοδώρου | θυγάτηρ.

S.XIV.218.(p.245.s.).

c) X. of Y. daughter.

12 exx. e.g.

*Αριεσώ | Καλιστράτου (sic) | θυγάτηρ.

10,818.(s.ii.κ).

d) * X. of Y. from Z. daughter, and sister of A. from C.

Ξεν - - | Τιμ - - | Κο[θωκίδου] | θυγ[άτηρ] | ἀδελφ[ή ὅ]δ[ε] |

Δημοφίλου | Κοθωκίδου. 6479.(s.iii.κ).

As in a) Z. agrees with Y., so here A. agrees with C.

cf. * X. of Y. sister.

Πανᾶς | Κολύζωνος | ἀδελφή.

12,228.(s.ii.κ).

e) X. (daughter) of Y. from Z.

8 exx. of A, in which Z. agrees with Y. e.g.

*Αρχαρέστη | Νικοδρόμου | Εἰρεσίδου. 5994.(s.iii.κ).

91 exx. of NA, in which Z. agrees with X. e.g.

*Ασιλητιδᾶς | Νήνου | *Αγκυρανῆ. 7894.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

cf. 1 ex. of NA, in which Z. agrees with Y viz.

Σωτηρίδης | Εὐαγγέ(λ)ου | *Αντιοχέως. 8301.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

f) * X. from Z. (daughter) of Y. (Note that Z. agrees with X.)

Ζωτώρα | Κορινθία | Ἀλκίμαχος. 9068.(s.ii.κ).

*
g) X. (daughter) of Y. from Z₁ from Z₂. (Note that Z₁ agrees with X.)

Λεοφρονίδης Ἑροστράτου | Μερότα θυγατρὶς Ἰωνίας.

9973.(c.300.κ).

*
h) X. (2 names) (daughter) of Y. from Z. ?cognomen.

Τερτία | Μαρκία | Ποπλίου Ῥωμαία | Αἰσίδα.

10,157.(p.179.s.).

For the cognomen cf. CIL ii.3372 where we find mention of one
Appia Aurelia Aureli filia Lupercilla.

i) X. (daughter) of Y.

18 exx. e.g.

Ἀρδούρουσα | Ἰωνός.

10,735.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

j) X. from Z.

72 exx. e.g.

Σώτιον | Ἀτραμυτηνή.

7945.(c.s.ii.κ).

k) X. profession.

2 exx. viz.

Νουμήνις | τίτη.

12,330.(s.iii/ii.κ)

Χυνέτις | τίτη.

12,681.(s.ii.κ).

1) X. This is very common e.g.

Αἰγυπτία.

10,596.a.(s.iv/iii.*).

N.B. It is clear that in the case of Athenians Z. always agrees with Y, whereas in the case of foreigners Z. always agrees with X. - with 1 exception quoted in b) above. See also below.

Type 3: X. wife of Y. from Z.

a) the stock formula is: X. of Y. from Z. wife. (Note that Z. always agrees with Y.)

31 exx. of A e.g.

Θιλίτιον | Πανσίου | Ἀγρυλῆος | γυνή.

5295.(in.s.ii.*).

Only 2 exx. of NA viz.

Ἡράκλ[εια] | Τιμοθ[έου] | Ἀγκυ[ρανοῦ] | γυν[ή].

7904.(p.f.s.iv.*).

Εὐτυχίδε | Μενάνδρου | Κυρηναίου | γυνή.

9131.(s.iii.*).

b) X. from Z. of Y. wife. (Note that Z. agrees with X.)

5 exx. of NA e.g.

Σωτηρίδε | Αἰνία, | Κεραιῶ[νος] | γυν[ή].

7984.(p.197.s.).

c) X. from Z. of Y. from Z. wife.

5 exx. of NA e.g.

Ἀρχὸν | Αἰτωλῶν, | Στρότου | Αἰτωλοῦ | γυνή.

7987.(p.197.s.).

d) * X. of Y. Ἰσοτελοῦς wife. (cf. a) above.)

Κίττον | Μένωνος | Ἰσοτελοῦς [ς] | γυνή.

S.XVI.204.(s.ii.π).

e) X. of Y. wife.

15 exx. e.g.

Βοῖδοτον | Ξενεμάχου | γυνή.

10,970.(s.iv/iii.π).

N.B. As in Type 2, in the case of Athenians Z, always agrees with Y.; in the case of foreigners Z, usually agrees with X.

Type 4: X. daughter of Y. from Z., wife of A. from G.

a) Both 'wife' and 'daughter' expressed:

(1) the stock formula is: X. of Y. from Z. daughter, of A. from G. wife. (Note that Z. agrees with Y., and cf. Type 2.a and Type 3.a for the word order.)

35 exx. of A e.g.

Ἀντίκλεια | Ἑρμαφίλου | Ἀμαξαντέως | θυγάτηρ, | Ἀλεξάνδρου |
Κητείου | γυνή.

5587.(s.iii/ii.π)

3 exx. of NA e.g.

Δαμοτί[μα] | Νικάρχων [ος] | Ἰλατέως | θυγάτηρ, | Ἀρίστωνος |

*ΕΛ[α]τέ[ως] | γυνή.

8482.(s.ii.κ).

(ii) ^κ X. of Y. from Z. wife, of A. from C. daughter. (Note that Z. agrees with Y.)

Χρυσόν | *Ολυμπιοδώρου | *Αναφυστίου | γυνή, | *Υπαράνθου
*Αχαρνέως | θυγάτηρ. 5685.(in.s.iii.κ).

(iii) X. of Y. daughter, of A. from C. wife.

8 exx. of A e.g.

Δ δ | Δαμοξένου | θυγάτηρ, | *Ιομονίκου | Βερανικίδου |
γυνή. 5872.(s.ii.κ).

(iv) X. of Y. from Z. daughter, and wife of A. (Note that Z. agrees with Y.)

2 exx. of NA viz.

Χαριτῶ Διογνήτου | Θεοραϊέως θυγάτηρ, | [γυ]νή δὲ
Θαιδρίου. 6215.(pa.317/6.κ)

Νικομάχη | Τεισάνδρου [υ] | Πατριέω[ς] | θυγάτηρ, | γυνή
δ[δ] | [Α]ριστο - - 7074.(p.179.s.).

(v) X. of Y. from Z. daughter, of A. wife. (Note that Z. agrees with Y.)

2 exx. of A viz.

Παραμόνα | *Επιχάρου | *Επαριέως | θυγάτηρ, | Εὐκλείδου |
γυνή. 6284.(p.245.s.)

Ἐδκομένη | Ἀριστογείτονος | Ἀφιδναίου θυγάτηρ, |

Δικαιογένους γυνή.

6569.(f.s.iv.κ).

2 exx. of NA viz.

Ἀπολλωνία | Ἀπολλωνίδου | Αἰγινήτου | θυγάτηρ, |

Ἀσκληπιδίου | γυνή.

7951.(s.ii.κ)

[Ἀ]ριστόκλεια [Αἰσχρίω]νος Κορινθο[υ] | [ου]γάτ[ηρ],

Θέλω]νος γυνή.

9052.4-5.(in.s.ii.κ).

*
(vi) X. of Y. from Z. daughter, wife of A. from C. (Note that Z. agrees with Y.)

Ἀριστοκράτεια | Φιλοκύδου | Ζυβρίδου | θυγάτηρ, γυνή |

Κηφισοδώρου | Παλιανίδος.

7474.(p.179.s.).

*
(vii) X. from Z. of Y. daughter, of A. wife. (Note that Z. agrees with X.)

Σῆρον | Αἰγινήτις | Ἑρμαίου | θυγάτηρ, | Ἑρμῖπλου | γυνή.

7966.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

*
(viii) X. of Y. wife, of A. daughter.

Ἰσοδίκη : Καρίου | γυνή : Ἑρασίππ[ου] | θυγάτηρ.

11,746.(s.iii/ii.κ).

*
(ix) X. of Y. daughter, wife of A.

Περσέν[ιον] | Κερκίωνα[ς] | θυγάτη[ρ], | γυνή | Καρίν[ου].

12,417.(f.s.iv.κ).

N.B. In all these exx. Z. agrees with Y., except when 'X. from Z.' come together. However, all but 2 of the exx. in which Z. occurs are Athenian.

b) 'daughter' understood:

(i) X. (daughter) of Y., of A. from G. wife:

4 exx. of A e.g.

Κλεορίστη | Δημητρίου, | Περικλέους | Ἀτηνέως | γυνή.

5703.(s.iii.π)

Only 1 ex. of NA viz.

Εὐπορία | Θεοπίδου, | Ἀριστομένους | Λαοδικέως | γυνή.

9174.(p.f.s.iv.π).

(ii) X. (daughter) of Y. from Z., of A. from G. wife. (Note that Z. agrees with Y. in the ex. of A, whereas Z. agrees with X. in all the exx. of NA.)

Only 1 ex. of A viz.

ΚΑ[ΕΦ] | Κλεών {ε}ος | Αἰχονέως, | Θανου(λ)έου | Λευκονοέως |
γυνή.

5434.(s.iii.π).

22 exx. of NA e.g.

Μέθη | Διονυσίου | Ἀνδρία, | Εὐνόμου | Συναληγέου | γυνή.

8092.(s.ii.π)

cf. also:-

Περσένιον | Ἀριστείδου | Αἰκαίνα, | Θανοκλέους | Εὐτεαίου
γυνή | ποθεινή.

9152.(s.iii.π).

(iii) X. (daughter) of Y. from Z., of A. (son) of B. from C. wife.
(Note that Z. agrees with Y.)

1 ex. of A viz.

*Ἀριστομάχη Βολωτοῦ Μελιτέως, | Φοίνικος τοῦ Κλεάνδρου
*Ὁῦσαν γυνή. 6831.(f.s.iv.κ).

1 ex. of NA viz.

Σωσικράτεια | Σωπίωνος | Πλαταιέως, | Φιλίνου | τοῦ Νενε-
κράτου | Παλιανιέως | γυνή. 10,097.(s.iii/ii.κ).

For the Article with '(son) of B.', see III.A.2 above.

*
(iv) X. (daughter) of Y., and wife of A. from C.

Ε[ὐκ]ο[ρῆ]α | - - βίου, | γυνή δὲ | Εὐμαρείδου | δὲ Οὔου.
6992.(p.f.s.iv.κ).

(v) X. (daughter) of Y. from Z., of A. wife. (Note that Z. agrees with X.)

5 exx. of NA e.g.

Εὐημερίς | Δημητρίου | Ἡρωλεῶτις, | Ἀπολλωνίου | γυνή.
8649.(s.iii.κ).

*
(vi) X. (daughter) of Y., of A. wife.

Αἰόνη | Τηλείου, | Νικηίου | γυνή. 11,160.(s.ii.κ).

N.B. All the Athenian exx. have Z. agreeing with Y. Foreigners have Z. agreeing with X., except in the ex. quoted in (iii).

c) 'wife' understood:

(i) * X. of Y. from Z. daughter and (wife) of A.

Εὐφραΐνα | Ἀπελλικῶντος | ἐξ οὗου | θυγάτηρ | καὶ Βεβαίου.

6993.(s.111/11.π).

(ii) * X. (wife) of Y., of A. daughter.

Παύκον | Πάριδος, | Λυσιστάχου | θυγάτηρ.

11,003.(s.111/11.π).

2. Formulas with χαῖρε or νοσητός :

First Group: Known Foreigners.

Type 1:

a) * A. (son) of B. from C. χαῖρε . (A. and C. are in the Vocative case).

Μένανδρε | Μενάνδρου | Ἀμιανῖτα | χαῖρε.

8075.(p.197.s.).

b) A. (son) of B. from C. χαῖρε . (A. and C. are in the Nominative case). 3 exx. e.g.

Μένης Καλλίου | Ἀργεῖος χαῖρε. 8370.(o.f.s.iv.π).

c) A. from C. χαῖρε .

3 exx. e.g.

Ἡρακλείδης | Ἀντιοχεὺς | χαῖρε. 8199.(p.317/6.π).

d) A. (and B.) from C. χρηστός.

Only 2 exx. viz.

Ζωκυρῶ[ν]. | μορφῆς | ὀρθῶς | χρηστός. 8917.(s.iii.κ)

Λεύκιος | Ῥωμαῖος | χρηστός. 10,155.(c.s.ii.κ).

Type 2:

a) * X. from Z. χαῖρε.

Σωτηρῆς | Μεσσηνία | χαῖρε. 9344.(s.iii/ii.κ).

b) * X. (daughter) of Y. from Z. χρηστή χαῖρε.

(Note that Z. agrees with X.)

Θιλουμένη | Διονυσίου | Μιλησία χρησ[τή] | χαῖρε.

9924.(p.197.s.).

c) X. from Z. χρηστή.

4 exx. e.g.

Ἐξορροσύνη | Ἀμφιπολίτης | χρηστή. 8082.(s.ii.κ).

d) * X. from Z. profession χρηστή.

Σωπάρτα | Μακέτα | τέτοη | χρηστή. 9271.(s.iii.κ).

Type 3:

a) * X. from Z. of Y. wife χαῖρε . (Note that Z. agrees with X.)

Ῥόδιον | Ἰπρωλεῖτης, | Κτήσιμος γυνή. | χαῖρε.

8774.(s.iii/ii.κ).

Type 4: there are no exx.

Second Group: Nationality Unknown.

Type 1:

a) A. (son) of B. χαῖρε.

4 exx. e.g.

Βρόμιος | Βότρυος | χαῖρε.

10,984.(p.221.s.).

b) A. χαῖρε.

4 exx. e.g.

Θεόφιλος | χαῖρε.

11,666.(s.11.π).

c) * A. χρηστός χαῖρε. (A. is in the Nominative case).

*Απολλώνιος | χρηστός | χαῖρε.

10,731.(p.179.s.).

d) * A. χρηστὲ χαῖρε (A. is in the Vocative case).

*Αττικὲ | χρηστὲ | χαῖρε.

10,902.(p.197.s.).

e) A. χρηστός.

20 exx. e.g.

*Ανδρικός | χρηστός.

10,661.(p.197.s.).

f) A. (son) of B. χρηστός.

4 exx. e.g.

Διονύσιος | Δημητρίου χρηστός.

11,182.(s.11.π).

Type 2:

a) ^{*} X. (daughter) of Y. χαῖρε.

Πύθιον | Μάνου | χαῖρε. 12,550.(s.iii.π).

b) ^{*} X. (daughter) of Y., A. (son) of B. χαίρετε.

Θεοδότη | Δημητρίου [ν], | Θεόφιλος | Μηνοδώρο [ν] | χαίρετε.

11,632.(p.197.s.).

c) X. χαῖρε.

3 exx. e.g.

Εὐκορῖα | χαῖρε. 11,456.(p.179.s.).

d) X. χρηστή χαῖρε.

2 exx. viz.

Δορκίδε | χρηστή | χαῖρε. 11,215.(s.ii.π)

Κτήσιον χρηστή | χαῖρε. 11,925.(p.197.s.).

e) X. (daughter) of Y. χρηστή.

2 exx. viz.

Μαλθακή | Μαγάδιδος | χρηστή. 12,026.(f.s.iv.π)

Ἀπολλων [εἰα] | Μενάνδρου | [χρησ]τή. 10,724.(p.197.s.).

f) X. χρηστή. (Of. Type 1.e of this Second Group above.)

28 exx. e.g.

Ἄδα | χρηστή. 10,575.(c.s.ii.π).

*
g) X, profession χρηστή,

Πυρρίχη | τροφός | χρηστή.

12,563.(c.f.s,iv.κ).

*
h) X, χρηστή good profession,

Σαυνώ | χρηστή | ἀγαθὴ | κυλιέστρια

12,583.(s,ii.κ).

Types 3 and 4: there are no exx.

N.B. 1. There are no known-Athenian sepulchral inscr., which use χαῖρε or χρηστός. Cf. Larfeld: "Grabschriften mit χαῖρε (nur von Fremden), nicht vor dem 3. Jh.; der attische Ursprung von III².1473 (i.e. II².7861 q.v.) Δημήτριε Διογένου Ἀθηναῖε χαῖρε. ist zweifelhaft." (1)

And further: "Niemals findet sich auf Grabsteinen attischer Bürger oder Bürgerinnen das seit etwa dem 3. Jh. ungemein häufige Epitheton χρηστός : vgl. Theophr. Char. 13: καὶ προσεπὶ γράψαι, ὅτι οὗτοι πάντες χρηστοὶ ἦσαν; dagegen bei Fremden." (2)

Cf. also the remark in inscr. 8199: "Vox χαῖρε mortuorum nominibus apposita tantummodo peregrinorum propria est. Cf. Gutschier Att.

Grabschriften 1890,24."

2. There are 26 exx. of formulas with χαῖρε. Of these 16

(1) Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik, Vol.11, p.856.

(2) id., op. cit., p.857.

are in the Nominative Case, 2 in the Vocative, and the case of 8 cannot be determined. The exx. in the Nominative cover the whole of my period; the 2 exx. in the Vocative probably belong to the second century (8075.(p.197.s.); 10,902.(p.197.s.).)

In conclusion, note the following facts concerning the agreement of the demotic and ethnic:-

1. In Type 1 the demotic and ethnic always agree with the deceased.
2. In Type 2 the demotic always agrees with the deceased's father; the ethnic usually agrees with the deceased, but occasionally agrees with her father.
3. In Type 3 the demotic always agrees with the deceased's husband; the ethnic usually agrees with the deceased, but occasionally agrees with her husband.
4. In Type 4 the same rules hold good as for Types 2 and 3.

SECTION 6.

VOCABULARY.

I. Alternative Forms of Words.

A. The following Table illustrates the frequency of ΕΥΘΥΝΑ and ΕΥΘΥΝΕΥ. The exx. are divided between State and Sub-Unit.

	DC	323-00		299-75		274-50		249-25		224-00		199-75		174-46	
		S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U	S	U
ΕΥΘΥΝΑ	1	4	5	9	2	6	2	3	1	2	2	2	-	1	-
	2	2	-	1	-	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
	T	6	5	10	2	9	2	4	2	2	2	2	-	2	-
	a	1	4	3	2	1	-	2	-	4	1	-	-	-	-
	3b	-	3	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	4 ³	4 ³ 1 ^{3p}	-	1 ⁶	-	1 ⁸	-	1 ¹²	-	-
ΕΥΘΥΝΕΥ	1	-	2	-	-	1	2	1	2	-	2	2	3	3	-
	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	2	-	1	-
	T	-	2	-	-	1	2	1	5	-	2	4	3	4	-
	a	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	-	1
	3b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
	c	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁶	-	1 ⁵	-	1 ¹²	1 ⁹	-

This shows clearly the predominance of ΕΥΘΥΝΑ until about 350 BC, after which ΕΥΘΥΝΕΥ gradually takes over.

Note also that οὐνεκα occurs once:-

σ|ω[φροσ]ὺν|ης οὐνεκα.

2943.16-18.U.(s.111.*).

There are no Private exx. except 1 in verse viz.

ἐὐνοῦντα ἔνεκα

G.1689.6.P.(pa.317/6.π).

N.B.1. Before 323 BC the predominant form is ἔνεκα. But there is also 1 ex. of εἴνεκα viz. 1156.58.U.(334/3), and 1 ex. of ἔνεκεν viz. 3822.3.(c.387/6.π).

2. After 146 BC the exx. are fairly evenly divided between ἔνεκα and ἔνεκεν.

B. οὐδὲ εἰς, μηδὲ εἰς > οὐδεῖς, μηδεῖς.

State: there are no exx. of the form with ὀ, but 13 exx. of the form with θ, ranging from H.XI.290.56.19.(247/6) to 957.7.(157/6). Unfortunately there are no exx. of the word earlier than 247/6.

Sub-Unit: 2 exx. of the form with ὀ viz.

μηδὲν

1266.5.U.(f.s.iv.π)

μηθενός

1299.8.U.(pp.236/5).

16 exx. of the form with θ, ranging from 2499.14.U.(306/5) to 1329.6.U.(175/4).

Private: no exx., except 1 ex. in verse viz.

μηθεῖς

G.1601.1.P.(in.s.iii.π).

N.B.1. The earliest ex. of the form with θ is

μηθενεῖ

I².43.37.(378/7).

From then until 323 BC there are several exx., especially of οὐδὲν.

2. After 146 BC the form with θ prevails until the end of the second century, after which the form with ὀ appears to take over.

G. γίγνομαι / γίνομαι : (dialectal variant): ⁽¹⁾

State: 4 exx. of γίγν- viz.

γίγνόμενα	1631.368.(323/2)
γίγνόμενον	1b.391.
γίγνομένην	566.13.(f.s.iv.π)
παργίγνομένο [ις	672.23-24.(279/8.h.).

9 exx. of γίγν-, ranging from 780.34.(250/49) to S.XVI.94.10.(b.173/2-168/7.h.).

Sub-Unit: 2 exx. of γίγν- viz.

γίγνωνται	1165.8.U.(300-250.π)
γίγνομεν[- -	1288.10.U.(m.s.iii.π).

15 exx. of γίγν-, ranging from 2499.38.U.(306/5) to H.XI.295.58.22.U.(152/1).

Private: none.

N.B.1. Before 323 BC the form is always γίγν-.

2. After 146 BC the form is always γίγν-.

3. For ὀλίγος and ὀλιγαρχία, see PH.II.A.2.a.(ii).

D. συν-/ξυν-.

State: except for 1 ex. viz.

ξυνέβη	844.5.(193/2)
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the only exx. of ξυν- are in the formula γνώμην δὲ συμβάλλεσθαι.

(1) Cf. Buck, op. cit., p.74: "γίγνομαι appears as γίνομαι in most dialects except Attic (here also, but late), or as γένυμαι (Thess., Boeot.)."

There are 5 exx. of this formula with $\xi\upsilon\nu-$ in the period 323-300 BC; 22 in the 3rd. century; and 15 in the period 199-146 BC. In fact, there are only 3 exx. with $\sigma\upsilon\nu-$ viz. 505.47.(302/1); 650.21.(286/5); 980.9.(p.245.s.).

Apart from this formula, the frequency of $\sigma\upsilon\nu-$ is as follows:-
65 exx. between 323-300 BC; 117 exx. in the 3rd. century; 68 exx. between 199-146 BC.

Sub-Unit: no exx. of $\xi\upsilon\nu-$, but numerous exx. of $\sigma\upsilon\nu-$.

Private: no exx. of either, except 1 verse ex. viz.

$\sigma\upsilon\nu\omega\rho\iota\delta$ [t] 3138.6.V.P.(f.s.iv.x).

N.B.1. $\sigma\upsilon\nu$ for $\xi\upsilon\nu$ ($\chi\sigma\upsilon\nu$) appears as early as the 6th. century. At the end of the 5th. century there is a period when we find $\chi\sigma\upsilon\nu-$, $\xi\upsilon\nu-$ and $\sigma\upsilon\nu-$. After 403/2 the form is almost always $\sigma\upsilon\nu-$, except in the formula $\gamma\nu\omega\rho\iota\eta\nu$ $\delta\delta$ $\xi\upsilon\nu\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$.

2. I have found no exx. of $\xi\upsilon\nu-$ after 146 BC, even in the aforementioned formula.

3. For the preposition, which is always in the form $\sigma\upsilon\nu$, see SY.II.C.2.f.

E. $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ / $\hbar\pi\alpha\varsigma$.

Unlike the preceding sections, this is not so much a case of how many exx. of $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ and how many exx. of $\hbar\pi\alpha\varsigma$, but more a question of which types of expression use which form. For, although most of the expressions which I consider below have exx. with both forms, I think it will be clear that many of them have a distinct

preference for one form rather than the other.

(N.B. For the Article with $\pi\alpha\varsigma$, see SY.III.S.)

1. With $\kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega\varsigma$:

a) when the Article is absent, we always find $\pi\alpha\varsigma$: e.g.

$\epsilon\mu\ \kappa\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\ \kappa\alpha\iota\rho\omega\iota$ 503.8-9.(302/1); 1329.4.U.
(175/4).

b) when the Article is present, we find

[ε]/[π] ειδη Νίκανδρος 'Αντιφάνους 'Ιλίου καὶ Πολύξ[η]-

[λ]ος 'Απολλοφάνους 'Εφέσιος διατετελέκασιν ἐν [π]-
αντὶ τῷ κειρῷ εὐνοῦς ὄντες 505.7-10.(302/1)

ἀποφα]ίνουσιν δὲ αὐτὸν [κα]ὶ διατελεῖν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς
καιροῖς π[ρόνοια] [γ] ποιούμενον 672.7-8.(279/8.h.).

In only 1 ex. is $\alpha\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ found viz.

..... ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς κ[αιροῖς] 777.11.(252/1).

Note that the first of these 3 exx. probably shows the influence of $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$.

2. In expressions concerning 'sacrifices':

a) after ἀποφαίνουσιν τὸν ταμίαν we always find

τάς τε οὐσίας τεθουκέναι πάσας
e.g. S.XVI.81.9.(189/8).

b) in ἐπειδή clauses with the Perfect Indicative we find

τάς τε οὐσίας ... | ... πάσας καλῶς κα[ὶ] [ε] φιλοτιμῶς
τέθουκεν 1163.5-7.U.(284/3).

But cf.

τὰς τε θυσίας ..|.. τεθυῖασιν | ἀπάσας

S.XIV.64.10-12.(271/0)

τὰς θυσίας ἀπάσας τέθυκεν

950.11.(165/4).

And with the Aorist Indicative we find

τ[ὰς] θυσ[ί]ας ἔθυσαν π|άσα[ς]

1277.7-8.U.(278/7)

τὰς τε θυσίας πάσας ἔθυ|σεν

788.10-11.(235/4)

ἔθυσεν δ]ὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας πάσας

H.II.504.16.9.(161/0).

But cf.

τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας

6 exx. from 790.18.(235/4) to H.S.I.120.64.9.(178/7).

τὰς θ]υσίας ἀπάσας ἔθυσεν

798.11.(250/49.π).

3. With 'Αθηναῖοι :

a) there are no exceptions to the formula

χειροτόνησαι - ἄνδρας δὲ 'Αθηναίων ἀπάντων

5 exx. from 653.44.(285/4) to H.XVI.165.64.6.(161/0).

cf. δὲ 'Αθηναίων ἀ|πάντων χειροτόνηται

839.48-49.(221/0).

b) all other usages have πᾶς . Note that in the following exx.

πᾶς appears before 'Αθηναῖοι , unlike the formula in a).

ἐφ' ὁμονοίαι πάντων 'Αθηναίων

H.V.422.15.16.(196/5)

περὶ πάντας Ἀθην[αίους] 808.9.(b.239-229.h.)

πρὸς πάντας Ἀθηναίους

834.27.(pp.229.h.); 1236.9.U.(a.m.s.ii.κ)

cf. πρὸς πάντας Κρηταίους 844.12.(193/2).

τοὺς διαδοθέντας πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις

657.12-13.(283/2)

ἔδωκεν πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις 1b.42.

καὶ πᾶσιν ἈΟ[η]ν[α]ίοις ε[ὐ]νοὺς ἔστω|[ιν]

774.b.11-12.(c.250/49.h.)

σωτήρια πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις 950.9.(165/4)

ἀεὶ ἐ|[βοήθ]ει τε πᾶσιν Ἀθηναίοις

H.XXIX.18.24.8-9.(s.ii.κ).

4. Final Clauses of the type

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐφάμιλλον / φανερόν ᾗ to everyone

ὅπως ἂν οὖν εἰδοῖται everyone.

a) πᾶσι always appears in the formula

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐφάμιλλον ᾗ πᾶσι e.g. 663.30.(c.286/5.κ).

cf. ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐφάμιλλον ᾗ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐφήβοις

H.VII.110.20.17.(258/7)

ὅπως ἂν οὖν ἐφάμιλλον ᾗ πᾶσι | τοῖς χειροτονουμένοις

S.XV.113.16-17.U.(215/4).

b) in the formula with φανερόν both πᾶσι and ἅπασιν appear: e.g.

ὅπως ἂν εἴ πᾶσιν φαν|ερόν 1271.18-19.U.(299/8.κ)

ὥπως ἂν οἴον παῖσιν φανερόν ᾔη H.VII.100.18.19-20.(282/1)
cf.

ὥπως ἂν φανερόν εἴη πῶσι τοῖς θιασώταις
1273.18-19.U.(281/0.*).

But cf.

ὥπως ἂν οὔν ἀπασιν ᾔη φανερόν 505.41.(302/1)

ὥπως ἂν ἀπασιν φανερό[ς] ᾔη ὁ δῆμος
1222.6.U.(f.s.iv.*)

ὥπως ἂν φανερό[α] ᾔη ἀπασιν H.XI.290.56.24.(247/6).

c) similarly both forms are found with εἰδῶσι :

ὥπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες ὅτι
448.81.(318/7); 1214.33-34.U.(300-250.*)

ὥπως ὁ* ἂν πάντες εἰδῶσι ὅτι
448.16-17.(318/7); cf. 1275.9.U.(in.s.iii.*)

ὥπως ἂν εἰδῶσι πάντες οἱ | φι[λο]τιμᾶσθαι βουλευμένοι
1270.19-20.U.(298/7.f.).

cf.

ὅ[τι] [τω]ς ἂν οὔν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πάντες εἰδῶσιν
1278.5-6.U.(273/2)

ὥπως ἂν πάντες λάβ[ωσιν] | 798.17.(250/49.*).

But cf.

ὥπως ἂν ὁδὲ εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες 1299.25.U.(pp.236/5)

ὥπως ἂν [οἱ] οὔν εἰδῶσιν ἅπαντες
908.7.(b.181 - 170.h.).

d) Cf. also the following ex.

ὅπως ὅν πάντες οἱ ἀ|ἔει παθιστάμενοι . . | . . φιλοτιμῶνται
1277.29-31.υ.(278/7).

5. With οὗτος :

There are the following exx. of both forms:-

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|--|
| οὗτα πάντα | 492.16-17.(303/2.h.);
H.V.422.15.31.(196/5). |
| εἰς ταῦτα πάντα | 657.46.(283/2); 949.10.
(165/4); 956.17-18.(161/0). |
| ἐμ πᾶσι τοῦτοις | 1324.6.υ.(1n.s.ii.7π). |
| ἐπὶ πᾶσι (ν) τοῦτοις | 682.63.(c.256/5); 1299.
62.υ.(pp.236/5). |
| περὶ τούτων ὁπάντων | 847.27.(215/4) |
| περὶ ὁπάντων τούτων | 1326.18-19.υ.(176/5). |
| ὅπερ τούτων π[ά]ντων | 657.36.(283/2) |
| ὅπερ οὗν τούτων ὁπάντων | 1271.14.υ.(299/8.π). |
| ταῦτα πάντα πεπονημέν | 672.9.(279/8.h.) |
| ταῦτ τα δὲ ποιήσας ὁπάντα | 1678.A.15-16.(a.315.h.). |
| συνεπεμε λήθη καὶ τούτων πάντων | 682.58-59.(c.256/5) |
| εἰς δὲ τὴν ἐπισκευ ὴν τούτων πάντων | 1322.6-7.υ.(p.179.s.) |
| ἐπὶ [μ]εληθῆν [ε]ι ὁπάντων τούτων | 380.14.(320/19). |

6. With Relative Pronoun:

a) with prepositions: both forms are found e.g.

περὶ πάντων ὧν ὠικονόμηκεν	788.14.(235/4)
ὅπερ πάντων [ὧν ὧ] ἐκ[ο]νόμηκεν	678.17.(p.256/5)
περὶ πάντων ὧν γέγονε	584.19.(f.s.iv.π).

But cf.

περὶ ἀπάντων ὧν ὠικονόμηκεν	956.20.(161/0);
	958.16-17.(154/3).

b) without prepositions: both forms are found e.g.

τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ὅσα προσῆκεν	847.30-31.(215/4).
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But cf.

καὶ ἅπαντα ὅσα [α] προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ δῆμος	373.24-25.(322/1)
οἷς ἅπαντα ὅσων ἂν δέωνται	463.111.(307/6)
ὅσα πώποτε αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου [προ][σ]ετάχθη ἅπαντα	505.39-40.(302/1).

7. With οἱ ἄλλοι :

a) in expressions with ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῶν ἄλλων almost all the exx. use ἀπάντων e.g.

ἐπιμεμέληνται τῶν τε θ[υσιῶ][ν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων	1262.5-6.υ.(301/300)
--	----------------------

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐπιμεμέληνται,	674.12.(273/2)
--------------------------------------	----------------

ἐπεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ ... τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων	
---	--

890.13-15.(188/7.gr.); S.XVI.91.16-17.

(173/2).

ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὁδ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων

H.III.12.16.6.(f.s.111.π); 1b.31.21.17.(155/4)

cf. ἐπι[μ]εληοῦν[α]ι ἀπάντων τούτων 380.14.(320/19).

But cf.

ἐπιμεμέλhνται ὁδ καὶ | ... τῶν ἄλλων πάντων

S.XIV.68.14-15.(214/3)

cf. ἐπεμ<ε>λήθη τῶν κοινῶν πάντων|ν 1263.8-9.υ.(300/299)

ὁδς πάντων ὅμ προσῆκεν ἐπεμελήθ|η 682.23-24.(c.256/5).

b) in other expressions both forms are found e.g.

τἄλλα πάντα H.VII.100.18.14.(282/1)

[τ]ὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα 1328.38.υ.(175/4).

συμβοήθει .. τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι 448.51.(318/7)

λαμπάδου ἐποίησεν ..|.. τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς πᾶσιν

S.XV.111.3-4.υ.(229/8.π).

καὶ τὰς ἄλ|λας ὁδ πᾶσας λειτουργίας λειτουργήκεν

682.60-61.(c.256/5)

τὰς τε ἄλλας λειτουργίας ὑπομεμενη|κῶς πᾶσας

H.V.422.15.11-12.(196/5).

μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης κορηγίας πάσης

1326.13.υ.(176/5).

But cf.

τἄλλα τεμὲνη ἅπαντα* 2498.3.(321/0).

οἱς|τέλεισαν ὁδ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν περὶ θαρ|χοῦντες

S.XIV.64.16-18.(271/0).

ἀνεπιτίμητον ..|... τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων 1241.14-17.υ.(300/299)

καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων

1330.62.U.(p.163.π).

8. With χρόνος :

a) we always find ἀπαντα in the phrase

εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον

7 exx. from 463.3.(307/6) to 1326.48.(176/5).

cf. εἰς ἀπ[α]ντα τὸ [ν] χρόνον

H.VIII.35.9.5.(303/2.π).

Of. also

καὶ διαμεμενηκὸς ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰρέσεως ἀπαντα τὸν

χρόνον

H.V.422.15.27.(196/5)

and contrast

]πορέμεινε πάντα τὸν χ[ρόνον]

502.18.(302/1.gr.).

b) with καὶ we find e.g.

ἐκ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου | εὖρους ὅν διατελεῖ

493.13-14.(303/2)

cf. διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου

457.b.15.(307/6).

9. In the formula προεδρῖαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν both forms are found:-

προεδρῖαν ἐν ἀπασι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν

3 exx. from 450.b.4-6.(314/3) to 555.8-9.(b.307/6-303/2.h.)

προεδρῖαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶσιν

7 exx. from 646.36-37.(295/4.π) to 900.12.(c.185/4).

It appears certain that the formula with πᾶσι took over from ἀπασι after the end of the 4th. century.

10. In the formula ἐν τοῖς ἐξέτασμοις there is 1 ex. of each form viz.

ἐν τοῖς ἐξέτασμοις ἀπασιν 500.12-13.(302/1)

ἐν τοῖς ἐξέτασμοις πᾶσιν H.II.156.5.14-15.(275/4).

11. The following groups make up the rest of the exx. of πᾶς and ἅπας :

a) coming after its noun with intervening words:

ἡ | δὲ οὐσία ἡ Σωπὸλιδος ἀπογέγ[ρα]π[τα] δημοσίᾳ
εἶναι ἅπασα 1631.361-363.(323/2)

τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα τὸδε ἅπαν 1b.401.

τὰ ἐν τῷ | ἀγορανομίῳ ἐπι[σ]κευασθεῖ δῶν προσ-
δεῖται ἅπαν[τ]α, 380.10-12.(320/19)

οἱ δι[α] | τρέβοντες παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ ἅπαν[τ] | ες
507.17-19.(c.302/1)

τοῖς | λοιποῖς τῶν ὀργάνων ἅπασιν
1324.19-20.U.(in.s.11.7π).

But cf.

εἶναι τὰ[ς δωρε] | ἀς κυρίας πύφρονι πᾶσας,
448.64-65.(318/7).

b) coming immediately after its noun:

τὰ | τὰ εἰσφορὰς ἀπ[άσ]ας 554.8-9.(c.306/5.h.)

τοὺς φίλους ἅπαντας 1275.7.U.(in.s.111.π);

1b.8-9.

συνεστράτευνται δὲ καὶ τὰς στρα[τε]ί[ας] πάσας
505.36-37.(302/1)

τὴν λοιπὴν χορηγίαν πᾶσαν 1325.25.U.(185/4).

o) coming immediately before the Article:

βοηθεῖν ἅπαντα[ς] τοὺς [συμμάχους]
S.XIV.58.16.(302.κ)

ἐν ἅπασιν τοῖς ἱεροῖς 1214.15.U.(300-250.κ)

πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς Διονυσιαστά[ς] ,
1326.41.U.(176/5)

πρὸς ἅπαντας τοὺς τὴν | σὺν ὁδὸν φέροντας
1b.5-6.

εἰς ἅπαντα τὰ [προσῆ]|[ξι]οντα
1318.4-5.U.(p.179.σ.)

δο[ξαιμᾶσει] ... π[άν]τας τοὺς λίθους
1678.A.2-3.(a.315.h.)

κεραμῶσει τοῦ μὲν κύκλου πᾶσαν τὴν π[άρο]|[δ]ον,
463.69-70.(307/6)

κοινεῖ παντὶ τῷ δῆ[μῳ]
747.5.(in.σ.111.κ)

παρέχων ἑαυτὸν πᾶσι τοῖς θιασώταις
1271.8-9.U.(299/8.κ)

πρὸς πάντας τοὺς φυλῆτας
1165.26.U.(300-250.κ)

ἐδουλώσας παντὶ τῷ ἔθν[ει]
1283.26.U.(263/2)

φιλοτιμῶνται πάντα τὰ συμφέροντα

1299.70.ὑ.(pp.236/5)

ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔτεσι

1304.34.ὑ.(pp.211/10)

πᾶσιν τοῖς [ε] [ερ [οῖς]

II.XXIX.29.36.3.(s.iii.π)

καταλειπέναι πάντων | τῶν ... ὑπ[α]ρχόντων,

1326.28-29.ὑ.(176/5)

κοινεῖ πάντες οἱ βουλομένοι

1322.9-10.ὑ.(p.179.s.)

νεῖμαι πᾶσιν τοῖς μετέχουσιν

1330.32.ὑ.(p.163.π)

διατελεῖ πάντα τὰ καλῶς ἔχοντα

1b.75.

d) no noun expressed: these all have πᾶς :

ἐκείδαν δὲ συγκείμενα ἦν πάντα

1678.A.8.(a.315.h.)

παρέξει δὲ ... ὁ μισθωσά[μ]ενος τὸ ἔργον πάντα

1b.8-9.

ὅπως ἔν συντελε[σ]θ[ῃ] πᾶσαι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια

682.54-55.(c.256/5)

εἰς τὸ πάντα πραχθῆναι

844.14.(193/2)

κοινεῖ πᾶσιν εὐχρηστέων

1304.37.ὑ.(pp.211/10)

καὶ ἐν πᾶσιν εὖνουν

1327.16.ὑ.(178/7)

καὶ δὲ ἐν πάντων

956.82.etc.(161/0);

cf. 957.(157/6) and 958.(154/3) *passim*.

e) with names of countries: 2 exx., both with $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ viz.

$\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \tau\eta\nu\ \text{'}\Delta\sigma\iota\alpha\nu\text{'}$ 457.b.11.(307/6)

$\tau\eta\nu\ \text{'}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\text{'}$ 687.14.(265/4).

This latter ex. could, of course, be divided $\text{'}\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}\delta\text{'}$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu$, but the evidence for Elision of this sort does not lend much support to the possibility. (See PH.I.E.3 above).

f) with $\epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$, $\pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha$, $\sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta$, $\acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$:

These phrases always use $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ e.g.

$\tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\iota]\text{[}\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\text{]}\ \tau\omicron$
1281.3-4.U.(c.266.h.)

$\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\ \tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$
H.XVII.3.3.10.(244/3)

$\tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\pi\iota\mu\acute{\epsilon}[\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$
844.18-19.(193/2).

$\tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \pi\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\tau\omicron$ 1225.14.U.(c.250.h.)

$\tau\eta\nu\ \pi\alpha\varsigma\alpha\nu\ \sigma\kappa\omicron\upsilon\delta\eta\nu\ \pi\omicron\iota\eta\sigma\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\nu\text{[}\sigma\varsigma\text{]}\ 1236.6-7.U.(a.m.s.ii.*)$

$\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma\ [\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu]\text{[}\sigma\eta\varsigma\text{]}\ \text{S.XVII.36.8-9.U.(212/11)}$

$\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\eta\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\sigma\phi\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\text{[}\acute{\iota}\alpha\varsigma\text{]}\ \text{1304.29.U.(pp.211/10).}$

N.B.1. In Verse inscrr. there are 5 exx. with $\pi\alpha\varsigma$ where $\acute{\upsilon}\pi\alpha\varsigma$ would not fit: e.g.

$\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\omicron\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\mu\omicron\iota\sigma\iota\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ G.1821.4.F.(s.ii.*).

There is only 1 ex. of ὅπως. Note that it is in a stereotyped phrase (cf. 8 above):

εἶς τὸν ἅπαντ' χρόνον

4658.2.V.P.(s.iv/iii.π).

2. I have examined all the exx. quoted above from the point of view of Hiatus. Although this no doubt played a part in the choice of form, there are too many exx. of Hiatus with ὅπως to enable one to say that καὶ is usually used when ὅπως would produce an Hiatus.

F. εἶναι / ἔξεῖναι:

εἶναι is frequently used in formulae equivalent to ἔξεῖναι.

e.g.

εἶναι οὐδ' αὐτῶι καὶ ἄλλο ἄγαθόν εὐρεῖσθαι παρὰ τοῦ

δῆμου

e.g. H.VII.100.18.28.(282/1)

καὶ εἶναι αὐτῶι γράψασθαι φυλῆς καὶ δῆμου καὶ

φρατρίας ἧς ὅν βούληται κατὰ τὸν

νόμον

e.g. 558.19-21.(c.303/2.h.).

G. νεῶς / ναός:

νεῶς appears to be the earlier form e.g.

παρὰ τὸν νεῶ

657.70.(283/2); 687.44.(268/7).

τοῦς ναοῦς

H.XI.265.51.4.U.(in.s.ii.π).

Cf. νεωποιοῖς and ναοποιοῖς, both of which are found in 1678.(a.315.h.):

νεωποιοῖς

ib.b.14.

ναοποιοῖς 1b.A.16.

ναοποιοῖ 1b.A.20.

H. Θεός / Θεά :

Before 323 BC 'goddess' is translated by ἡ Θεός, except in combinations such as ὁ Θεός καὶ ἡ Θεά : e.g.

referring to Athene:

τῆς Θεῆς I².368.7.(426/5)

τὴν ἀπαρχὴν τῆς Θεῆς

I².220.7.(421/0).

referring to Demeter and Persephone:

τὸ Θεό. I².76.46.(423/2).

referring to Pluto and Persephone:

τῆς [Θε]ῆς καὶ τῆς Θεᾶς 1b.38-39.

cf. τοῖς δώδεκα [Θ]εοῖς καὶ ταῖς σεμναῖς Θεαῖς,

112.8-9.(362/1).

However, in my period, ἡ Θεά is not confined to such combinations: e.g.

referring to Demeter and Persephone:

[τα]ῖς Θεα[ῖς] 661.23.(267/6)

πρὸς τὰς Θεὰς 1b.28.

ἔθυσεν ταῖς Θεαῖς 1304.26.U.(pp.211/10).

Contrast the following exx.:

referring to Demeter and Persephone:

πε]ρὶ τὴν Θεάν 2944.11.U.(s.iii.π).

referring to the Magna Mater:

ταῖ θεῶν

1314.7.U.(213/2)

τὴν θεὸν

1b.12 and 16; 1328.11.U.(183/2);

1b.27 and 33.(175/4).

I. Θωάω :

ο(ω)άσει αὐτὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς[α]

1362.14.U.(f.s.iv.κ).

This is the only instance of this verb which I have found in any period. However, in I².4.12.(485/4) we read ἐ]χο[ῖ]ναί; θεῶν i.e. the Present Infinitive Active of Θωάω ; and in I².114.42.(409/8) we read με ἔναί θεὸν ἐπιβαλὼν [ἄθε]ναῖον μεδῶ [heντ - -] i.e. the Accusative Singular of the noun Θωά .

Note that this latter inscr. is a re-issue of an early 5th century document.

In all other cases ζημιόων is used for fining and penalising.

J. Unusual forms found in Verse inscr.:

ἀτεγγής : presumably = ἀτεγγετός i.e. 'hard-hearted':-

[οῦ]θε [ῥ]ε οὕτως ἔστιν ἐν ἀν[θ]ρώποισιν ἀτεγγής,

G.1913.7.P.(1n.s.iii.κ).

δημοσύνη : = ? δημοσιότης

Ἀμφρότος καὶ Διοφίθης δημοσύνη με ἀνέστησαν : Ἀρτέ-
μιδι

4658.1.V.P.(s.iv/iii.κ).

οὕτῃ : = ? ταύτῃ

καὶ μοι κτέρισαν τάφον οὕτῃ,

G.1601.4.P.(in.s.iii.κ).

πεντάμι : = πεντάμις

ταγὸς ἔφν στρατιᾶς πεντάμι Πανσίμαχος,

3474.4.V.U.(p.179.s.).

Note that there are also a large number of dialectal variants used in Verse inscr. both to satisfy the metre and to give a 'poetical' flavour: e.g.

γούσων

G.1699.4.P.(in.s.iii.κ)

γούνασι

G.632.3.P.(in.s.iii.κ)

οὐνομα

1b.7.

ἀελίοιο

G.1913.3.P.(in.s.iii.κ)

δοῦσα

1b.4.

II. Word Meaning.

To attempt to list all the more unusual words which occur mainly in building-contracts e.g. 463.(307/6); 1678.(a.315.h.), lists of dedications e.g. 1534.A.(292/1.κ); 1b.B.(247/6), and naval records e.g. 1631.(323/2); 1632.(323/2), would transform this linguistic thesis into a lexicon. Almost all these words are now listed in LSJ, but I note below a few which are not mentioned there nor in Hesychius nor in the Souda.

A. ἀντιγόνειον :

ὀφθαλμοὶ Φιλοκλείας †† ὀφθαλμοὶ Σωφίλου * τέτραχμον

ἀντιγόνειον Εὐαγγέλιος * 1534.B.231.(247/6)

τέτραχμα ἀντιγόνεια τέτταρα Φ [ειδων] ἴδου?

1b.266.

ποτηρίδιον καὶ τέτραχμα ἀντιγόνεια τρία Καλλιστ[ρα] ---

1b.272.

The last ex. may give a clue to the meaning of this word, since LSJ explains 'ἀντιγονεύς as "a kind of cup named from him" (i.e. from Antigonus), quoting Polemo Historicus 57. and Plutarch Aemilius Paulus 33.

Professor Dover has suggested that it might be the name of a coin, but there is no evidence for this. ⁽¹⁾

B. διόζυε :

ἀριθμὸς τριήρ[ων τῶν] ἐν | νεωρίοις καὶ τῶν ἐμ κλῶι

οὐσῶ[ν κ]αὶ | σὺν ἧι ἔφηεν Ἀριστόνικ[ος

Μ]α[ρ]αθ | καὶ σὺν ταῖς διόζυ[ξι] δυοῖν τ[α]ῖς

* Ἀρ|παλείοις:

1631.167ff.(323/2).

This may be the opposite of the adjective σύζυε, and so give the translation: "with the 2 separate ships the Harpalean ones". ⁽²⁾
(For the termination -ζυε, see Buck and Peterson.)

(1) Cf. e.g. B. V. Head, Historia Numorum.

(2) A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives, p.613.

C. κολύφατον :

πρὸς [τῷ] κολυφαίῳ [εἰς τὰ] δε [πρόσκ]ειται : φιλόλιον
 λε[ῖτον ---] : 1534.A.38.(292/1.κ).

This occurs in a list of dedications to Asclepius. In the lines which follow we have reference to πρῶτος σφήκιςτος (ib.41) and πρὸς τῷ δευτέρῳ σφήκιςτωι (ib.43), both of which give the location of various objects. κολύφατον is, therefore, almost certainly something of the same nature as σφήκιςτος, which apparently means a 'rafter'.

There may be some connection with κορυφή (top) and κορυφαῖον (the upper rim of a hunting net).

D. ναυφυλάκεια :

ἔδωκεν δὲ καὶ τὰ ναυφυλάκεια παρ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ παρα-
 γινόμενος εἰς 'Ραμνοῦντα' ἔθυσεν τεῖ Νημέσει κτλ.
 S.XV.112.15-17.U.(225/4).

This occurs in a decree of the men of Rhamnous honouring a trierarch Menandros. The ἐπειδὴ clause describes how Menandros concerned himself καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως about the preparation of the voyage, provided the ναῦνιστοι with olive-oil to make them δυνατότεροι, conducted the appropriate sacrifices to Zeus Soter and Athene Soteira, and undertook the task ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων (? 'at his own expense'); crowned the petty-officers (ὀπηροῦτας) for their φιλοτιμία, and ἔδωκεν ... τὰ ναυφυλάκεια κτλ.

The verb ναυφυλάσσω is instanced in LSJ from Eustathius

1562.36, with the meaning 'guard a ship', ναυφυλάκεια should, therefore, mean 'things which protect a ship'. These could be concrete items such as equipment for bad weather, or, perhaps, in this context, offerings to an appropriate deity for the safety of the ship. If the latter is possible, then one would translate: "he provided the ship-offerings out of his own pocket".

E. παρὰ πλευρῶς :

--- παρὰ πλευρῶς ἔνασθ' ἡ βελόνη

1534.B.294.(247/6).

This occurs in a context which lists votive offerings to Asclepius of an anatomical nature such as eyes, legs and bodies. παρὰ πλευρῶς ought to mean something like the part of one's body at the side of the ribs, or perhaps a poultice applied there: cf. the verb παρὰ πλευρῶν = 'cover on the sides with a thing'.

F. πηγοειδής :

λίθος? πηγοειδής βαβδίωι ἡρτημένος ἀργυρῶι : σφραγίδες
ἔδλιναι : 1534.A.103.(292/1.π).

It seems quite clear that this is "a stone (?) shaped like a beech-nut, fitted with a silver branch".